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NEAR EAST/NORTH AFRICA REPORT

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CONTENTS

INTER-ARAB AFFAIRS

Several Countries Buy Into Italian Firms (Fulvio Grimaldi; 8 DAYS, 4 Apr 81).....	1
Ministers Approve Housing Aid for Sudan, Take Other Actions (AL-QABAS, 5 Feb 81).....	3
Kuwaiti Loan for Tunisia Signed (KUWAIT TIMES, 29 Mar 81).....	5
Area Banks Make Loan to Hungary (KUWAIT TIMES, 30 Mar 81).....	6
OAPEC Calls for Southern European Dialogue (AN-NAHAR ARAB REPORT & MEMO, 6 Apr 81).....	7

ISLAMIC AFFAIRS

Kuwait, Indonesia Support Joint Islamic Activities (KUWAIT TIMES, 27 Mar 81).....	8
Possibility of Islamic Unity Discussed (Georges de Bouteiller; DEFENSE NATIONALE, Apr 81).....	9

AFGHANISTAN

Mass Defection of Afghan Troops Reported (MORNING NEWS, 17 Apr 81).....	15
Prominent Clergyman Belies Karmal's Amnesty (MORNING NEWS, 17 Apr 81).....	17
Anniversary Greetings to Karmal (Kabul Domestic Service, 27 Apr 81).....	18
Ethiopian Greetings	
Romanian Greetings	
Castro Sends Greetings	

Karmal Receives Congratulatory Messages (Kabul Domestic Service, 27 Apr 81).....	20
Mongolian Greetings Vietnamese Message	
Efforts Made To Strengthen Economy (KABUL NEWS TIMES, 13, 14 Apr 81).....	21
Promotion of Exports Development of Tourism Popular Support	

IRAN

Ayatollah Meshkini Foresees Widespread Revolutions (Ayatollah Meshkini Interview; TEHRAN TIMES, 15, 16 Apr 81)...	25
Successes in 23 April Operations Reported (Tehran Domestic Service, 24 Apr 81).....	31
Revolution Guards Capture Strategic Height in West (Tehran Domestic Service, 24 Apr 81).....	33
Statement on Recent Fighting of Guards Corps (Tehran Domestic Service, 26 Apr 81).....	35
Fighting on Ilam Front Reported (Tehran Domestic Service, 28 Apr 81).....	36
Montazeri Says Khomeyni Walks in God's Steps (Ali Sobhani; TEHRAN TIMES, 14 Apr 81).....	37
New Ambassador to Vatican Announced (AFP, 28 Apr 81).....	39
Imam Urges Shi'a-Sunni Unity for Survival (KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL, 15 Apr 81).....	41
Ahmad Khomeyni Takes Issue With Dissenters (TEHRAN TIMES, 14 Apr 81).....	44
Impact of Power Struggle on Clergy Reported (8 DAYS, 4 Apr 81).....	46
Friday Imam Calls for Greater Resolution, Solidarity (Hojjatolislam Khamene'i Interview; KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL, 12 Apr 81).....	48
Leadership Blasted by Well-Known Religious Figures (IRAN PRESS SERVICE, 15 Apr 81).....	54

Opposition Leaders Bakhtiar, Oveysi Contact Sadat (IRAN PRESS SERVICE, 15 Apr 81).....	55
Bazargan Group Attacks Violations of Human Rights (Ulrich Tilgner; FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU, 28 Mar 81).....	57
Regime Criticized Severely by Renowned Journalist (IRAN PRESS SERVICE, 15 Apr 81).....	60
Public Figures Oppose Newspaper Closure (Editorial Report).....	63
Intrigue Dogs Iranian War Effort (Tim McGirk; 8 DAYS, 4 Apr 81).....	64
Economic Indicators Decline Sharply (AN-NAHAR ARAB REPORT & MEMO, 6 Apr 81).....	66
Tehran Cites 'Mizan' on May Day (Tehran International Service, 30 Apr 81).....	68
Briefs	
Western Front Battles	69
Abadan, Khuninshahr Battlefronts	69
Aghajari Revolution Guards	70
Ilam Region Fighting	70
Battles Continue	70
Zahab Front Battle	71
Iraqi Officials Executed	71
Battle Successes	71
Ahvaz Bombings	71
Iraqis Captured	72
Abadan Bombed	72
Zahab Region Fighting	72
Ahvaz Fighting	72
Anniversary Rallies	72
Shiraz Revolution Guards	73
Abadan, Khuninshahr Battles	73
Anti-Turkish Demonstration	73
Tehran, Karaj Clashes	73
Leftist Demonstrations	73
Mujahidin Damage Powerstation	74
Interparliamentary Conference	74
Media Officials Meet Ayatollahs	74
Envoy in Pakistan	75
Muslim Unity Stressed	75
Kermanshah Attack Foiled	75
Medical Donations	75
Oil Official in Tripoli	75
Azarbayjan Donations	75
USSR-Iranian Shipping Protocol	76
Cooperation Talks	76
Shiraz Subway Planned	76
Mahabad Radio Operations	76

IRAQ

Huge Contracts Awarded to West German, Austria Firms (AN-NAHAR ARAB REPORT & MEMO, 6 Apr 81).....	77
Briefs	
Industrial Complex	78
French Power Contract	78
Cooperation Accord With Belgium	78

ISRAEL

Weaknesses of Iraqi Army Discussed (Hayim Raviv; BAMAHANE, 7 Jan 81).....	80
--	----

KUWAIT

Gulf Cooperative Council Part of Long Process Towards Unity (Editorial, Jasim Ahmad al-Nisf; AL-QABAS, 7 Feb 81).....	86
Assembly Debates Security, Crime Situation (Zakaria Al-Qaq; KUWAIT TIMES, 1 Apr 81).....	88
Gulf Bank Declares Huge Profit (ARAB TIMES, 28 Mar 81).....	90

LEBANON

Amal Representative Comments on South Lebanon (KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL, 12 Apr 81).....	91
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MOROCCO

Soviets, Indians Plan Larger Phosphate Purchases (LA VIE ECONOMIQUE, 10 Apr 81).....	94
---	----

PERSIAN GULF AREA

Latest Plans for Gulf University Discussed (KUWAIT TIMES, 4 Apr 81).....	96
Oil Official Discusses Effects of Iraq-Iran War on Oil Supply (Muhammad al-Shiti Interview; AL-QABAS, 7 Feb 81).....	97

UNITED ARAB EMIRATES

Abu Dhabi Budget Approved, Development Stressed (EMIRATES NEWS, 14 Apr 81).....	99
Briefs	
Teachers Seek Transfer	100
Manpower Figures	100

SEVERAL COUNTRIES BUY INTO ITALIAN FIRMS

London 8 DAYS in English 4 Apr 81 pp 26-27

[Article by Fulvio Grimaldi]

[Text]

IT STARTED with a takeover assault last year on Rome's most famous restaurants. The operation was conducted by a Rome businessman with backing of \$6m provided by Arab entrepreneurs still to be named. Islambrokers, an international company grouping Arab investors, commented at the time: 'We are fed up with putting surplus funds in other countries, such as England, and are now approaching the Italian market which is particularly attractive due to the low value of the lira, Italy's excellent products and its low prices.'

The restaurant deals have led to what the inevitable prophets of doom have described as an 'invasion, if not a plunder'. But most Italians, whose investment capacity has been severely reduced by a major economic downturn followed by heavy restrictions on credit, appear enthusiastic about the developing Arab connection, which has Libya in a leading role.

Not a week goes by without some owner of a private television station offering the Libyan embassy the use of his studios to carry out commercial and political propaganda. A well-known Rome station already broadcasts excerpts from Qaddafi's Green Book nightly and in Sicily six private television stations are receiving impressive amounts of petrodollars to canvass greater Italian-Libyan economic cooperation. (Two big deals are about to be concluded thanks to such propaganda: the Iraqis are negotiating the purchase of the island's biggest refinery, at Milazzo, and the

Libyans are set to buy the largest and most modern Sicilian farm, the Duchy of Bronte, which still belongs to the heirs of Admiral Nelson. The Libyans intend to turn it into a sophisticated tourist village, to be added to the scores of hotels and buildings already bought on the coast.)

Now the Italian business world is about to be stirred by yet another giant coup on the lines of the Fiat-Libya partnership, which gave the Libyans a ten per cent stake in the Italian car industry. This time it is the turn of Italy's third-largest company behind Fiat and ENI — the chemical colossus Montedison. Tripoli is now finalising a proposal to Montedison International for the purchase of substantial quotas of shares in its main affiliates.

Montedison, like Fiat, owns a national daily newspaper, the Rome *Messaggero*, and the Libyans make no secret of their intention to gain representation in the boardrooms of the Italian media in order to help strengthen pro-Arab public opinion and political influence. When the Libyans bought into Fiat, it was not long before Arrigo Levi, pro-Israeli editor-in-chief of the Fiat-owned *La Stampa*, was dismissed.

Montedison, which has been hit by the slump in Italy's chemical and petrochemical industry, last year sold some of its property to raise cash. Like several other Italian companies, whose difficulties have caused thousands of workers to be laid off, it is turning to the Libyan Foreign Bank.

Saudi Arabian interest in Italy is also

increasing. Wall Street business advisers believe that the Saudis deserted the Italian market in the 1970s because of the high political risk involved: the Communists seemed set to enter government and urban terrorism threatened to produce a crisis. But the successes registered by the Libyans have caused second thoughts in Riyadh.

While West Germany has held back on meeting the Saudi request for Leopard tanks and other armaments, the Saudis have been promised by the Italians 210 tanks of the same type (produced in Italy on licence), 20 Chinook 47L and 12 Gazelle helicopters (supply of the latter had been refused by France after Libya's intervention in Chad), and four coast-patrolling corvettes. Saudi vanguards have been in Italy for some time. Ghaith Pharaon last year bought ten per cent of the Montedison holding company, 20 per cent of Fingest (its insurance subsidiary), 50 per cent of Montedison's main trading company in the minerals sector, and ten per cent of Buitoni-Perugina (foodstuffs). Pharaon is currently thought to be negotiating a slice of

Saffa, Italy's main matches firm.

Companies now reported to be on Saudi financiers' shopping lists include the Cardinal Hotel company in Rome; the Mefit building company, headed by the architects of Rome's Islamic mosque project, Portoghesi and Gigliotti; and a joint venture which should shortly give birth to a Saudi-Italian bank along the lines of the recently constituted Algerian-Italian bank.

The Arab caravan moving towards Italy also includes Kuwaitis. BTC International, the commercial bank with offices in London and New York whose chief executive is Prime Minister Sheikh Saad al Sabah, is planning to move strongly into the Italian industrial market. After years in which the Kuwaitis, like the Saudis, preferred to invest in the United Kingdom and the US, a change of direction is being seen, with financier Ahmed Jarallah the leading figure. Together with the powerful Al Wazzan clan, he has linked with Italy's Bastogi group in a company which invests in property and tourist projects.

CSO: 4820

MINISTERS APPROVE HOUSING AID FOR SUDAN, TAKE OTHER ACTIONS

Kuwait AL-QABAS in Arabic 5 Feb 81 p 3

[Article: "Council of Ministers Decides To Allocate 1 Million Dinars To Build Housing Units in Sudan; Approves the Amendment of Some Provisions of the Social Security Law and Special Budgets for Every Oil Company; Approves the Medical and Dental Practice Law, and Allows Kuwait To Participate in the Arab Fishing Company"]

[Text] The Council of Ministers decided in its regular meeting yesterday, chaired by Sad al-'Abdallah al-Sabah, to contribute 1 million Kuwaiti dinars for construction of new housing units in Sudan to help that area overcome its population problem. The council agreed to amend some provisions of the Social Security Organization Law. This was announced by Mr 'Abd al-'Aziz Husayn, minister of state for cabinet affairs. He said that the council had taken notice of King Husayn's message to his highness, the Kuwaiti head of state regarding the promotion and development of bilateral relations.

The council also took notice of the message of President Chun Doo Hwan of South Korea which was conveyed to the council by the Korean minister of energy who visited Kuwait this week.

The minister of state said that the message pertained to the cooperation between the two countries in the field of energy. The message also contained the viewpoints of the Korean president on the current relations between the two parts of Korea. The minister added that the council would be informed of the contents of the meeting of the Arab Gulf foreign ministers being held in Riyadh. Shaykh Sabah al-Ahmad al-Sabah, deputy prime minister and minister of foreign affairs, led the Kuwaiti delegation to that meeting.

Islamic Summit

Mr 'Abd al-'Aziz Husayn said that the council had completed its review of the resolutions and recommendations of the third Islamic summit held in Mecca and Ta'if. The council listened to a detailed report on the summit and the meetings and contacts that took place between his excellency, the delegation accompanying him and other attending delegations. The report also included an outline of the atmosphere of the summit and the role played by Kuwait. The council has completed a review of the visit of the head of state and the accompanying

delegation to both the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen and the Yemen Arab Republic. Both the official and popular receptions of his excellency and the delegation accompanying him expressed the deep and sincere relations between the Kuwaiti people and the peoples of both sections of Yemen.

Mr 'Abd al-'Aziz Husayn indicated that his visits achieved their goals by strengthening relations and making possible an exchange of views regarding issues of mutual concern.

Arab Developing Contract

The minister added that the council listened to a report by 'Abd al-Rahman Salim al-Atiqi, minister of finance, concerning economic affairs. This report, first of all, outlined the agreements reached by the countries affected by the developing contract as announced at the Amman summit and, second, reviewed the economic cooperation between the Arab countries, especially those of the Gulf region.

The minister stated that the council had agreed that each oil company should have a budget that must be prepared in the same manner as that of other commercial companies. These oil companies are: the National Petroleum Company, Kuwait Oil Company, Kuwaiti Petrochemical Industries, and Kuwaiti Oil Tankers Company.

Establishing Arab Fishing Company

The minister of state declared that the council had approved the establishment of an Arab fishing company as well as the draft of a bill for medical and dental practice and their support professions. The council also approved the amendment of some provisions of the Social Security Law. The drafts have been forwarded to the palace.

Aids to Sudan

Mr 'Abd al-'Aziz stated that the council took notice of a detailed report on the housing problem in southern Sudan. The council decided to participate in the project to build housing units in southern Sudan by allocating 1 million dinars for this purpose. The appropriate departments were asked to execute that pledge. The minister said that the council agreed to hold the Third Horse competition for the Gulf Cup in Kuwait. The council ratified several decrees to appoint and promote a number of army officers.

The minister added that the council had agreed that Hamad al-Rujayb, minister of housing, should accept the invitation of the Bahrainian minister of housing to visit Bahrain next week. The council also agreed that Sa'adun Muhammad al-Ghassam, undersecretary of state for information, should head the Kuwaiti delegation to the sixth conference of the Gulf ministers of information to be held in Muscat next month.

The council also agreed to create a number of new positions in the ministries of electricity and water, labor and social affairs, planning, and transportation. The council agreed to participate in several Arab and international meetings and conferences outside of Kuwait and formed the delegations that will represent Kuwait in those meetings and conferences.

KUWAITI LOAN FOR TUNISIA SIGNED

Kuwait KUWAIT TIMES in English 29 Mar 81 p 2

[Text] **THE** Kuwait Fund for Arab Economic Development yesterday signed two loan agreements with Tunisia totalling KD 10.8 million.

The agreements were signed by Tunisian Ambassador to Kuwait Mohammed Megdiche on behalf of his government and by Abdulatif Yousef Al-Hamad, chairman of the Kuwait Fund Board of Directors and minister of finance and planning.

Under the terms of the first agreement, the Fund will pay KD 3.5 million to assist in financing the Turki-Hammamat highway project in Tunisia.

TERM

The project involves the construction of a new road linking the two cities. It will be a freeway 21 km-long with two 7-metre wide lanes and an island 12 metres wide as well as stabilised shoulders of three metres on each side

of the road.

The total cost of the project which will be completed in two-and-a-half years, is estimated at KD 8.7 million of which 40 per cent is covered by the Fund's loan.

The loan's term is 20 years including a five year grace period. It bears an annual interest rate of four per cent, including an annual 0.5 per cent to cover administrative and other expenses involved in the implementation of the agreement.

The loan will be amortised in 30 semi-annual instalments the first of which will be due on August 1, 1986 and the last Feb 1, 2001.

The second loan between the Fund and Tunisia will be for the sum of KD 7.3 million and will assist in the financing of Sidi Salem project.

The project's aim is to utilise Medjerda valley waters for purposes of agriculture, to contribute towards meeting potable and

industrial water requirements, to generate electricity and to reduce flood damage in the Medjerda valley. The project would include the construction of an earth dam, an interconnection canal and irrigation drainage and road networks.

COST

Total cost of the project is estimated at KD 118 million of which 6.2 per cent is covered by the fund. The project's implementation began in 1977 and it is expected to be completed in 1984.

The loan will be for a period of 25 years including a five-year grace period, amortised in 40 semi-annual instalments the first of which will be due December 15, 1986 and the last on June 15, 2006.

It will bear a 2.5 per cent interest per annum, in addition to 0.5 per cent per annum to cover administrative and other expenses incurred during implementation of the agreement.

CSO: 4820/299

AREA BANKS MAKE LOAN TO HUNGARY

Kuwait KUWAIT TIMES in English 30 Mar 81 p 3

[Text]

THE Arab Banking Corporation (ABC) and the Kuwait Foreign Trading, Contracting & Investment Company are leading in a \$160 million loan to the National Bank of Hungary, according to a press release.

Agreement of the loan, arranged by a group of 19 banks and financial institutions was signed at Kuwait Meridien Hotel yesterday with representatives of the Hungarian bank.

The loan provides funds for investment in a variety of Hungarian export-related industries including engineering, chemical, agricultural and food-processing industries, the release said.

It is initially for four-and-a-half years but the borrower has the option to extend two third of the loan for an additional period of 3.5 years.

The funds are provided by ABC and KFTCIC as lead managers, by Libyan Arab Foreign Bank, the Toyo Trust and Banking Company, Banque Intercontinentale, Arab-Gulf Riyad Bank, Al Saudi Banque (London branch) the Yasuda Trust and Banking Company as managers.

Moscow Narodny Bank (Beirut Branch), and the National Bank of Kuwait as co-managers, and the Commercial Bank of Kuwait, Al-Ahli Bank of Kuwait, State Bank of India (OBU, Bahrain), UBAF Arab American Bank, Arab Bank for Investment and Foreign Trade, Banco Urquijo (Abu Dhabi Branch), Arab Hellenic Bank, Arab Jordan Investment Bank and Ubae Arab German Bank as participating banks, the release said.

— Kuna.

CSO: 4820/299

OAPEC CALLS FOR SOUTHERN EUROPEAN DIALOGUE

Paris AN-NAHAR ARAB REPORT & MEMO in English 6 Apr 81 p 7

[Text] Stressing the high priority which its members place on manpower development and the transfer of technology, the Organisation of Arab Petroleum Countries last week called for an extension of the dialogue between OAPEC countries and the industrial world, particularly nations in southern Europe.

The call came in an editorial in the monthly *OAPEC Bulletin* published as a preview of a seminar jointly organised by OAPEC and the Italian state hydrocarbons group ENI which is scheduled to take place in Rome between April 7 and 9. The seminar, which will be covered by this newsletter's European correspondent Randa Takiuddine, covers a "number of topics which concern both parties," the editorial said.

These include: the role of petroleum in the OAPEC countries and in the Italian and other European economies; requirements for the development of new energy resources from the viewpoint of both sides; the relationship between training and economic development; new frontiers in science and technology; common development and cooperation between the countries of southern Europe and the Arab world; and prospects for interdependence.

The editorial described the seminar as "an opportunity for a constructive dialogue" and said that it "comes at a time when many fear a repetition of the energy crisis and at a time when the accelerating depletion of oil, in the absence of a good substitute, has become a major source of concern for all."

CSO: 4820/799

KUWAIT, INDONESIA SUPPORT JOINT ISLAMIC ACTIVITIES

Kuwait KUWAIT TIMES in English 27 Mar 81 p 2

[Text] KUWAIT and Indonesia agreed yesterday to further increase cooperation in various fields of Islamic activities.

The two sides also stressed the need for increasing cooperation in the preaching of Islam.

Exchange of scholars and scholarships, were also discussed, said the Indonesian minister for Religious Affairs (Haji) Alam Shah Nivara after his talks with the Minister of Awqaf and Islamic Affairs, Ahmed Saad Al Jasser.

The statement said that Kuwait has welcomed proposals by the Indonesian minister for the creation of a centre for Islamic studies and an institute and school for Islamic teaching.

The statement added that Indonesia clarified in detail during his talks with Kuwaiti officials, it plans for the promotion of religion. Matters of interest to the Islamic world like the liberation of Al Aqsa Mosque from Israeli occupation and rights of the Palestinian people were discussed by the two sides, the Indonesian minister said.

The minister, who was received by His Highness the Amir and the Crown Prince and Prime Minister also reaffirmed Indonesian support for the struggle of the Palestinian people for the restoration of their just and legitimate rights.

Nivara and the accompanying delegation left here last night for Pakistan on the second leg of a tour which will take them to Bangladesh.
—Kuna

POSSIBILITY OF ISLAMIC UNITY DISCUSSED

Paris DEFENSE NATIONALE in French Apr 81 pp 97-105

[Article by Georges de Bouteiller: "The Islamic Nation After Taef 1981?"]

[Text] In January and February 1981, this magazine published two articles by Mr Georges de Bouteiller, minister plenipotentiary and former French ambassador to Saudi Arabia. An Islamic summit, which had just been held at Mecca and Taef, made these articles very timely again and Mr de Bouteiller, who happened to be traveling in Saudi Arabia at that time, witnessed the event on the spot. He reports to us here on a meeting whose central theme was "the reconstruction of an Islamic nation." The article below thus rather usefully completes the interesting study published earlier.

The meeting of the third Islamic Summit in Saudi Arabia in January 1981 once again brought to the fore the question that was put at the head of the two articles which the magazine DEFENSE NATIONALE published recently: "The Islamic nation--utopia or geopolitical reality of tomorrow?"

The central theme of the debates at that summit as a matter of fact was "the Islamic nation." We showed the genesis of the unity movement in Sunnite majority Islam, parallel to the manifestations of a rather shadowy Muslim nationalism which is still wide awake in Arab Islam. Then we analyzed the inter-Islamic structures gradually established over these past 10 years. The "Islamic Summit" is one of them, the most solemn gathering provided for by the Charter of the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OCI) adopted in Jiddah in 1972. This higher-level body consists of the chiefs of state or heads of government.

There have already been 11 meetings of the ministers of foreign affairs of the Muslim countries and numerous gatherings of officials from technical departments (finance, industry, commerce, tourism, telecommunications) or social welfare departments (health, education, youth). But so far only two summits have been held, one at Rabat on 22-25 September 1969, after the burning in Jerusalem of the Al-Aksa Mosque which had sensitized the Muslim world and which laid the foundations of the Islamic Conference; the second one was held in Lahore, in Pakistan, in 1974. The petroleum-producing countries of Islam began to pile up petrodollars. Then somebody came out with the idea of economic cooperation between the rich Arab petroleum producers and the rest of the Islamic Third World which is less well endowed.

At the start of the 15th century of the Hegira, the choice of Saudi Arabia, the cradle of Islam, as the country to host the third summit is obviously symbolic. Thus the third great rally of the Islamic nation was opened at Mecca. The current leaders had a date to meet there. However, four of them were absent: Egypt, "suspended" ever since the peace treaty with Israel in 1979; Sovietized Afghanistan, thrown out of the OCI in 1980; Libya because of the diplomatic rupture with Riyadh; and finally Iran which in the end opted for abatement in order not to have to get too close to the enemy of the moment, Iraq. Among observers, Nigeria (although it is a member of the OCI, we are told, with 62 million Muslims), the Turkish community of Cyprus, and a Christian personality, Magr Mokim, patriarch of the Greek-Orthodox Church, plus another Christian in the person of Mr Sarkis, the president of Lebanon.

Mr Kurt Waldheim, who addressed the first working session at Taef, expressed the interest of the United Nations in this summit.

Mecca, 1500, on 19 rabi-ul-awwal 1401 of the Hegira, in other words, 25 January 1981. On the square in front of the Grand Mosque--which no longer shows the traces of the fighting that marked the birth of the 15th century of Islam--King Khaled awaited his invited guests, standing very straight, in spite of painful arthrosis and two open-heart surgery operations, surrounded by some of the kingdom's dignitaries, such as Crown Prince Fahed, the local governor, Prince Majeb, and his predecessor, Prince Fawaz, the OCI secretary-general, a Tunisian by the name of Habib Chati.

Ah! What a colorful spectacle the world of Islam is! For a whole hour I watched it parading on the screen of Saudi television (in 1974 I managed to persuade King Faisal to adopt the SECAM [Sequential Memory Color] process). All of the tribes of Asia and Africa in the colorful mixture of their clothing and hairdos, some wearing their national dress with a variety of abayas, kaftans, ganduras, jellabas, wearing white, blue, yellow, more or less heavy turbans, or multicolored caps (in the case of the Africans). Others were wearing European dress which is so awkward when Muslim prayer time comes around (Syria, Iraq, South Yemen, and Turkey), bare-headed or wearing a black skullcap (Malaysia, Indonesia), or wearing a white head-piece with the black headband in the case of the Bedouins of Arabia and Jordan (King Hussein). Others finally wore the humble dress of the pilgrim, a white, shapeless sheet wrapped around the body, the head uncovered, bare feet in sandals, using the occasion to make an unseasonal pilgrimage which is called "omrah" (in particular, Algerian president Chadli).

The delegations arrived endlessly, at 2 or 3 minute intervals, from Taef, their residence, a place with nice weather 90 kilometers away, in the mountains of the Hedjaz. It is cool there at this time of year (+10) while at Mecca it is +25. The first to introduce himself is an old acquaintance of the French; he is Mr Ali Abdullah, president of the Islamic Republic of the Comoro Islands. He took the opportunity to include in the final communique a paragraph asking France to return the Island of Mayotte to him. The Saudi sovereign was to receive 37 of them, including kings, presidents of Islamic or people's republics, prime ministers, including the current ruler of "Marxist-Leninist" South Yemen, Ali Nasser Mohammed. In an interview given to a local newspaper, he praised Islamic ideology.

Among the guests of King Khaled was President Goukouni of Chad, in pilgrim garb, along with Mr Hadj Omar Bongo, president of Gabon, who converted to Islam a short time ago. There was as a matter of fact a 37th invited guest, a person who usually

attends all of these meetings, a "potential" chief of state by the name of Yasser Arafat, in his usual Palestinian battledress (without his pistol). The PLO has the status of a full member of the OCI.

The opening of the third Islamic Summit in Mecca was essentially devoted to the common prayer of the leaders of contemporary Islam, although a long speech, read in the king's name by Prince Fahed, was interspersed between the recitation of verses from the Koran at the opening of this gathering and the prayer of the "Maghreb" at sunset.

The big voices of Islam of today were all or almost all there: Bourguiba was represented by Mr Mzali, his prime minister; Qadhdhafi, as we said, did not come. Sitting cross-legged, shoulder to shoulder, on luxurious carpets in a corner of the Grand Mosque, the leaders of Islam prayed before the Kaaba. After having kissed the sacred black stone, they approached the edifice in order to enter, one by one--an exceptional privilege. You get in via a small, steep and narrow ramp. Before the massive golden door of the Kaaba, the Algerian president and the king of Morocco met, one of them going in, the other one coming out. Spontaneously, it seemed to me, they shook hands to the delight of the numerous photographers present. Was this a gesture full of meaning or a simple courtesy? Only the future will tell.

Thus ended a ceremony to which one cannot remain insensitive, even if one is an atheist or simply a Westerner ruled by rationality.

The working sessions were held at Taef on the following 3 days, 26, 27, and 28 January 1981. The final communique--to which a "proclamation of Mecca" was attached--a kind of declaration of intention, was signed by all participants. Below the reader will find the essence of the provisions of a political character and the measures of an economic nature taken to increase aid to the poorest Muslim countries, and the decisions of the third summit in the cultural field, one of these being rather unexpected. The quotations refer to the original Arab version of documents published which, better than the translations, enable the reader to grasp the nuances of the positions adopted by the leaders of Islam at that meeting.

First of all, a declaration of ideological significance spells out the meaning of the "awakening of Islam" at this time: "It expresses the failure of imported ideologies and the firm conviction that the problems of the Islamic world can be resolved only within the framework of Islamic ideology."

This resurgence of Islam "is not directed against anybody. It is only aimed at putting an end to the lag of the Muslim community for many long years, following the intellectual, economic, and military aggression of which it has been a victim for centuries. The Islamic awakening announces the advent of a new society guaranteeing Muslims a better life compatible with human dignity."

To achieve that, the Islamic world must remain master of its destiny, protected against the pressures from the two superpowers "which have their interests that do not often coincide with ours, as we can see in the case of Israel and Afghanistan" (speech by Prince Fahed at Mecca).

In the document entitled "Proclamation of Mecca," the participants in the third Islamic Summit expressed "their profound concern in view of the rivalry among the

big powers over the establishment of spheres of influence and in the face of the growth of their military presence in the Arab regions or near the Muslim countries, such as the Indian Ocean, the Red Sea, and the Gulf." In Paragraph 4, the final communique urges "all members of the OCI not to participate in any system of military alliances springing from the struggle between the two superpowers and to reject the presence of military bases on their territory." The "Mecca Proclamation" states that "the security, stability, and peace of the region of the Gulf are the absolute responsibility of the riparian states, without any foreign interference." This is rather interesting at a time when the West wishes an increased military presence by the Americans in the Gulf and the Indian Ocean.

Nevertheless--we know--the wish expressed at Taef is not respected by all since three countries have granted facilities or bases to the United States (Oman and Somalia) and to France which maintains a garrison and ships at Djibouti.

Saudi Arabia, as far as it is concerned, indicated its feelings on many occasions since the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and again during the third summit. It accepts weapons and technical assistance from western countries but "the security of the kingdom and the states along the Gulf necessitates their keeping away from the East or West blocs" (speech delivered by Prince Fahed at the opening of this third summit).

Regarding Jerusalem and Palestine, the third summit firmly confirmed the positions already adopted, that is to say, the complete and unconditional withdrawal of Israel from all occupied territory, including the Arab portion of Jerusalem, future capital of an independent Palestinian state under the direction of the PLO, affirmed once again "as the only representative of the Palestinians."

It should be noted that, during the debates, Prince Fahed rejected the internationalization of Jerusalem, recommended by the Vatican, while urging the Christians to support the Muslim cause. King Hussein of Jordan in his speech also underscored the common concern of the Christians and Muslims regarding the Holy Places of Jerusalem.

The final communique very clearly expresses "the refusal to consider United Nations Resolution 242 as an adequate basis for the solution to the Palestinian problem." Finally, the call for a "Jihad" to liberate Jerusalem was renewed, meaning the efforts of the Muslim nations to support the Palestinian cause by all means, political, military, economic, including petroleum, which to the West means a "holy war."

Regarding Afghanistan, the Arabic text of the communique is precisely as follows: "The Islamic summit expresses its profound concern in view of the continuation of Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan. It reiterates its demand for the withdrawal of all foreign forces." One thus cannot say that the Russians are not expressly meant when we read the entire phrase of the communique but the "others" are not mentioned.

Moral support for the Afghan people is assured, as well as aid for refugees, but the fighters did not get the status of observers at the conference. The local

television cameras often focused on the empty chairs reserved for an Afghan delegation, represented by a small symbolic flag.

Concerning the conflict between Iran and Iraq, the conference could do no better than the United Nations: Another appeal for peace was launched, a new mediation commission was established. However, in case of a ceasefire, an Islamic control force would be sent to the area.

We reviewed the main decisions of a political nature of this Islamic summit. There is nothing very new in this field. On the other hand, in the economic field, new steps were taken on the way toward mutual aid between the rich and the poor of Islam. This seemed to me to be the most positive aspect of the new Panislamism of our time; its centerpiece, in the economic sector, I recall, is the Islamic Development Bank.

Its company capital was increased from 700 million to 2 billion Islamic dinars (about \$2.6 billion) by appealing for funds from its 40 current members (the last one being Gabon). But to help the most disadvantaged Muslim countries, a "fund for aid to developing Islamic states" was created with an initial capital of \$3 billion. Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Qatar, and the United Emirates supplied 2.3 billion. It must furthermore be emphasized that the beneficiaries of these gifts or loans will be Muslim countries whereas aid from the OPEC and from the Arab Development Fund go to the entire Third World without distinction.

To step up inter-Islamic economic relations an "Islamic center for the development of commerce" was established at Tangier; trade within Islam is still too weak compared to the north-south flow of trade with the western industrialized countries that also supply food products. It is the ambition of the Islamic conference to implement the complementary nature of the member states in order to create more numerous south-to-south trade currents and some day to have an "Islamic common market." In this context, the summit decided to create an "Islamic center for science and technology" and an "Islamic maritime transportation union" whose headquarters will be at Jiddah.

A "ministerial commission of solidarity with the countries of the Sahel hit by the drought" was established "to furnish all necessary assistance." Furthermore, three special committees were organized to "keep track of the implementation of measures adopted in the field of financial, commercial, and scientific cooperation."

Interesting steps were taken in the cultural area.

One of these brings out the continuation of efforts made in our time to assure the spread of Islam and its civilization in black Africa. We know that the OCI several years ago established an "Islamic solidarity fund" whose mission is not economic but cultural, to contribute to the creation of Islamic universities and institutes abroad. This capital was increased by \$150 million. Two new Islamic universities will be created, one in Niger, the other one in Uganda, as well as a cultural center at Tombuktu and Guinea-Bissau.

But the most unexpected measure was the adoption of a proposal made by Saudi Arabia to hold a conference of Muslim doctors of law, of jurists, and intellectuals in order (and I am quoting here) "to study the problems of current life and to present solutions based on Islamic cultural heritage and the evolution of Muslim thought in the face of the problems of our time."

At the end of my article published in February, I myself had thought that the Islamic conference could play a useful role in the accomplishment of the very difficult task of "renewal" which Islam today faces in order to catch up with this century. It is still too early to measure the precise significance of this decision. The initiative --it was said--sprang from Prince Fahed in an attempt to diminish the influence of the Saudi "ulemas" who are entirely too strict. Islam does not have a central controlling body, such as the Papacy. It has no church, no councils. The Islamic conference, which excludes theological discussions from its debates, is on the cultural level but it is known that Islam is both religion and civilization--something to be kept tabs on, something whose full importance the Western press perhaps has not yet grasped.

The Islamic community has been divided down through the centuries. Colonization has dislocated it. In our time we are witnessing an attempt at the reconstruction of an "Islamic nation" in the form of a free association of independent Muslim countries, for the purpose of guaranteeing the development of each of them by getting the best out of the natural and human resources of the entire group, while preserving the cultural identity of the members.

That is the essential point for Islam. This is an attitude which is by the way not peculiar to the Muslims in the world of today, where each people try to affirm its own personality. We can also see that in Europe.

In the "Mecca Proclamation," adopted at the end of the third summit by all participants, the leaders of Islam declare solemnly: "Beyond their ethnic, linguistic, and political differences, the Muslims constitute a single nation to which they are linked by the bond of Islam and a system of coherent life coming from the common cultural heritage."

The way we others, we Westerners, impenitent Cartesians, look upon Islam makes us inclined to concentrate on the divisions in it. But let us mistrust our penchant for rationality. Much more so than the laic and materialistic west, Islam can withstand the apparent contradiction of unity amid diversity, even amid division. This is due to the living adhesion of a billion human beings to one and the same faith and one and the same culture, with all that this means in terms of possibilities of contact in terms of crisis, rapproachments, connivances, compromises, and mediations.

Have we Europeans, we westerners, done any better on the road toward the unity and construction of a single community? Have we been really so successful in overcoming national antagonisms so as to make Europe something other than just an "abstraction?" (see statement by Mr Thorn on 23 February 1981 on French television channel 1). And do not we likewise share in common a certain number of ideals--different from those of Islam--but ideals nevertheless which have a value of their own?

5058

CSO: 4800/48

MASS DEFECTION OF AFGHAN TROOPS REPORTED

Pakistan MORNING NEWS in English 17 Apr 81 p 1

[Text] New Delhi, April 17--More than 1,000 officers and soldiers have defected with their weapons from an Afghan infantry division sent into battle against insurgents holding Kandahar, Afghanistan's second largest city, a report from the Afghan capital of Kabul said.

The mass defection to the insurgents, one of the largest reported in the three-year Afghan civil war, robbed the oncecrack 7th infantry division of nearly half of its remaining strength, said an Afghan source.--APA

An AAP report from London adds: A bomb explosion early this week in the Russian Language Department of the Faculty of Literature, Kabul University, damaged the building and smashed window panes and furniture.

The explosion took place in the office of the chairman of the department who is a Soviet national. A Soviet professor sitting in the office was badly injured.

A number of students were hauled up in connection with the incident and the department was closed down with immediate effect.

According to the Peshawar office of AAP the attendance in the university had gone down to less than 30 per cent over the past two years. The students are even hesitating to get admission in the medical college. With a view to attracting the students towards the medical education, the seven year's course has been cut down to four years. The engineering faculty had already been closed indefinitely. Similar state of affairs exists in the other departments of the university.

Meanwhile another report states, Kabul University students are preparing to stage a big demonstration in the Afghan capital on the Yaum-i-Inqilab-i-Saur which falls on April 27.

According to reliable sources the students have started distributing night leaflets as a preparatory technique to arrange the demonstration and the activities in this regard have been stepped up.

The student organisations connected with the Hezb-i-Islami and Jamiat-i-Islami Afghanistan have chalked out a common plan and have constituted an action committee to organise the demonstration.

It is to be mentioned here that the students held demonstrations on the same day last year. The Soviet tanks had opened fire on the protesting students by which a number of girl students had been killed.

The students have planned to demonstrate against the communist revolution and to commemorate the martyrdom of the girl students.

According to the programme, the students plan to hold demonstration at the spot where first of all a girl student had been martyred during the last year's student demonstrations.

CSO: 4920/304

PROMINENT CLERGYMAN BELIES KARMAL'S AMNESTY

Pakistan MORNING NEWS in English 17 Apr 81 pp 1, 8

[Text] London, April 17--A prominent leader of the Islamic Alliance for Liberation of Afghanistan Maulvi Yunis Khalis has said Karmal administration's announcement for general amnesty is a hoax and a desperate attempt to render strength to its staggering rule.

Talking to a Peshawar-based correspondent of the Agency Afghan Press, he declared that it was evident from the frustration of the Karmal regime that it had badly failed to stall the Mujahideen's advance despite the support of more than one lakh troops in Afghanistan.

The 61-year-old guerilla commander made it clear that communist tactics and intrigues could never block the way of Mujahideen, as these were not novel ones, but outdated methods of a decaying power.

He said that the announcement for amnesty to the entire population which was fighting the Soviet-backed puppet regime was a farce and had no logic in it.

Commenting on the Saudi government's step of severing its diplomatic relations with the Afghan government, Maulvi Yunis Khalis said it was a bold decision and a step in the right direction. The time had now come, he continued, that the Muslim world should realise its responsibilities and follow the example set by Saudi government to express its solidarity on the Afghan issue.

Dealing with the UN Secretary-General's latest initiative to resolve Afghan problem, the alliance leader said as a matter of principle he would not recognise any solution in which Mujahideen were ignored and the Karmal administration was made a party to the dispute. The entire world had seen the real face of the Karmal administration as the agent, of Soviet Union, which had been dancing to its tunes.

The Mujahid leader maintained that there were only two parties to the Afghanistan issue--Afghan people and the Soviet Union. Since the Afghan people were represented through the Afghan Mujahideen, therefore, no solution without the involvement of Mujahideen could prove fruitful.

He announced categorically that the Mujahideen were prepared to enter into dialogue with Russia on one point alone and that was the unconditional withdrawal of its troops from the soil of Afghans.

CSO: 4920/304

AFGHANISTAN

ANNIVERSARY GREETINGS TO KARMAL

Ethiopian Greetings

LD271400 Kabul Domestic Service in Dari 0730 GMT 27 Apr 81

[Text] On the third anniversary of the glorious Saur revolution, the following telegram was sent to Babrak Karmal, general secretary of People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan Central Committee, president of the Revolutionary Council and prime minister of Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, from Mengistu Haile Mariam, chairman of the Provisional Military Administrative Council of Ethiopia:

I convey my warmest greetings on the third anniversary of the glorious Saur revolution. I take this opportunity to convey the most sincere greeting of the government and people of Ethiopia to the heroic and energetic people of Afghanistan, who are continuously struggling against imperialism and reaction and are defending the gains of the triumphant Saur revolution. I hope that with the passing of time, the people of our two countries will take common steps in various spheres of progress and development, in the interest of one another and peace in the world, and thus gain further successes.

Mengistu Haile Mariam also wished good health to Babrak Karmal.

Romanian Greetings

LD271302 Kabul Domestic Service in Dari 0730 GMT 27 Apr 81

[Text] On the occasion of the third anniversary of the Saur revolution, a congratulatory telegram has arrived in Kabul addressed to Babrak Karmal, general secretary of the PDPA Central Committee, president of the Revolutionary Council and prime minister of the DRA, from Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party and president of the Republic of Romania. In this telegram Ceausescu expressed his sincere congratulations on the successes achieved by the party, government and people of Afghanistan, in the light of the revolution, and wishes Babrak Karmal good health. The telegram also expressed hope that the friendly ties and all-round cooperation between the parties, governments and people of both countries will be developed.

Castro Sends Greetings

LD271300 Kabul Domestic Service in Dari 0730 GMT 27 Apr 81

[Text] On the occasion of the third anniversary of the Saur revolution, the following telegram addressed to Babrak Karmal, general secretary of PDPA Central Committee, president of the Revolutionary Council and prime minister of the DRA, arrived in Kabul from Fidel Castro, the first secretary of the Cuban Communist Party and president of the Councils of State and Ministers of the Cuban Republic:

On the occasion of the success of the third Saur revolution anniversary, I convey to the party government and people of the DRA my warmest and most sincere congratulations on behalf of the party, State Council, government and the people of Cuba. Once again, I announced our solidarity with the struggle of the people of Afghanistan, under the leadership of the PDPA.

CSO: 4903/12

AFGHANISTAN

KARMAL RECEIVES CONGRATULATORY MESSAGES

Mongolian Greetings

LD271650 Kabul Domestic Service in Pashto 0930 GMT 27 Apr 81

[Text] Greetings telegrams marking the third anniversary of the glorious Sawr revolution have been received by Babrak Karmal, general secretary of the PDPA Central Committee, president of the Revolutionary Council, and prime minister of the DRA, from Y. Tsedenbal, first secretary of the Central Committee of the MPRP and chairman of the Presidium of the People's Great Hural, and from J. Batmonh, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the MPR. The messages express total support for the freedom, national independence and protection of the gains of the successful Sawr revolution and express hopes for the further success of the DRA Government and people in their revolutionary process.

Vietnamese Message

LD271642 Kabul Domestic Service in Pashto 0930 GMT 27 Apr 81

[Text] Telegrams marking the third anniversary of the glorious Sawr revolution have been received by Babrak Karmal, general secretary of the PDPA Central Committee, president of the Revolutionary Council and prime minister of the DRA, from Le Duan, secretary general of the Vietnamese Communist Party, Nguyen Huu Tho, president of Vietnam, and Phan Van Dong, prime minister of Vietnam. The messages convey warm greetings from the Vietnamese CP Central Committee, the government and people of Vietnam to the DRA Revolutionary Council, the government and fraternal people of Afghanistan. The messages also mention and appreciate the successes gained by the free people of Afghanistan under the leadership of the PDPA and Babrak Karmal, and support the successes achieved by the continuous struggles by the valorous and brave people of Afghanistan in many fields.

CSO: 4904/2

EFFORTS MADE TO STRENGTHEN ECONOMY

Promotion of Exports

Kabul KABUL NEW TIMES in English 13 Apr 81 p 1

[Text]

KABUL, April 13 (Bakhtar).—The Board of Directors of the Exports Promotion Bank met yesterday to scrutinise and approve the activity plan, organisational set-up and budget of the bank for the current Afghan year 1360.

The meeting was chaired by Abdul Wakil, Minister of Finance and the Chairman of the bank board. Others in the meeting were the governor of Da Afghanistan Bank, the president of the Pension Fund, the president of the exports promotion department of the Ministry of Commerce and the executive president of the Exports Promotion Bank.

The Board of Directors approved the organisational set-up and budget of the bank for 1360 after a few amendments. The executive president of the bank offered the necessary explanations.

The Minister of Finance and the chairman of the Board of Directors spoke on the need for further promotion of banking in order to serve the economy of the country and drew the attention of the bank employees towards performing their jobs in the light of the monetary and financial policy of the DRA Government.

Development of Tourism

Kabul KABUL NEW TIMES in English 14 Apr 81 p 3

[Text]

Concentrating its activities in three major sectors, road and air transport and tourism, the Transport and Tourism Ministry has earned a total of Af. 479,145,675 from Jadi 6, 1358 to Jadi 6, 1359.

Stating this in an interview with the *Kabul New Times*, an authoritative source of the ministry, speaking of its 1359 activities and its developmental plans for 1360, said that, during 1359, 55.8 million ton kms goods have been transported via air transport. Of this, 32.2 million ton kms has been transported via domestic flights and 23 million ton kms via international flights.

Similarly, 204.9 million passenger kms has been airlifted by the Bakhtar and Ariana Afghan Airlines during the same period. One hundred and ninety million passenger kms, has been airlifted in the international flights and 14.9 million passenger kms has been airlifted in the domestic flights.

Likewise, 2,321 million ton kms of transportations has been done by the road transport, of which, 43.5 million ton kms been transferred by vehicles belonging to the public sector and 2,278 million ton kms by the private sector vehicles in 1359. Meanwhile movement of passengers during the same period was 4,229 million passenger kms of which, 540

million passenger kms has been by public sector transport and 2,774 million passenger kms by private sector transport, added the source.

About 24,956 flights took off from the Kabul International Airport and the Kandahar airport and 2,634 planes overflew Afghanistan's air space during 1359, the source said.

Recalling the initiatives of the ministry in 1359 the source added that since the capacity of the Bakhtar Afghan Airlines planes was limited, the company could not meet the transportation needs of the passengers from Kabul to the provinces and back with its two Yak-40 planes seating 28 passengers and three Twin Otter planes seating 19 passengers each.

To better transportation in the country, according to a regular programme, the Ministry of Transport and Tourism purchased two Antonov-24 planes, each with a seating capacity for 52 passengers, from the friendly Soviet Union. The two planes have been already put into service, the source added.

METEOROLOGY

A two-week agro-meteorology seminar was opened in Kabul last year where the new observation methods of atmospheric conditions were taught to the observers of agro-meteorology stations. Fourteen fresh

graduates of two other meteorology courses were assigned to the meteorology stations. The courses were taught by local and foreign experts.

After the Iran-Iraq war, Ariana was compelled to fly via Karachi and the Gulf region countries to Europe which was uneconomical due to long distance.

By agreements with the Soviet Union and other countries the flights were arranged via the Soviet Union to Europe thus preventing losses.

Operation of the Ariana Afghan Airlines DC-10 plane which was uneconomical due to the excessive expenditures was stopped in 1359.

To further strengthen public sector transport along with the private sector, 300 Czechoslovak Tatra trucks were purchased in 1359. The plans for construction of transportation establishments for the Kamaz trucks, obtained as grant-in-aid from Soviet Union have been prepared and the engineering works are underway. The survey work on the construction of technical services stations has been completed and engineering work continues.

The road transport vehicles of the ministry total 1,211. Bakhtar Afghan Airlines with a fleet of seven planes serves in the domestic flights and the Ariana Afghan Airlines with a fleet of three planes serves in the international flights.

The source further added that during 1350 the Transport and Tourism Ministry concluded eight contracts and protocols between the concerned authorities of the ministry and other friendly countries. Seven complimentary documents on the contracts have also been concluded. The above protocols and contracts include the studies and project making of the local airports, reconstruction of the Kabul International Airport, purchasing of the two AN-24 planes for the Bakhtar Afghan Airlines, collecting information and project making of the road transport establishments and technical service stations of the Soviet made vehicles and for import of trucks.

Expounding on the development plans of the ministry in 1360, organized in the framework of the DRA development plans, the source said that they in-

clude the reconstruction of the Kabul International Airport designed by the Russian engineers.

The construction plan consists of extension of the runway, asphaltting of the runway, taxi way and the parking for the planes, construction of a terminal for domestic flights passengers, amendment of the terminal, reconstruction of the water supply system, canalization, central heating, electric and the engineering system.

AIRPORTS

Six airports in Badakhshan province are also to be constructed. The work on the engineering maps of the airport by Soviet experts are underway. The airports will be built in Faizabad, Khwahan, Darwaz, Sheghnan, Qala-Panja and Kerano-Menjan areas.

Construction of the building for meteorology technique in Kabul and const-

ruktion of meteorological and agro-meteorological stations in the provinces are also underway.

A touristic hotel in Bamyan is to be built and the Aymayee mountain restaurant in Kabul is to be completed.

The plans include expansion and equipping of the local airports in the provinces to be used by the Bakhtar Afghan Airlines.

Completion of the trolley bus project which include the route from Pamir cinema, Abda Maiwand, Rahman Mena, Bagrami textile mill and back is also planned. Construction of three transportation establishments with a capacity for 300 trucks each in Kabul and construction of the technical service units for the Soviet-made vehicles in Kabul, Mazare Sherif, Hairatan, Kunduz, Herat, Kandahar and Torghundi will also be done, the source added.

Popular Support

Kabul KABUL NEW TIMES in English 14 Apr 81 p 2

[Text]

The heroic people of Afghanistan are standing on a stage of a national and democratic revolution, a revolution which brought rising hopes for the construction of a new and progressive society. The long suffering people and the toilers of this country are now striving to bring this revolution to final victory by giving

all support to the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and the DRA government and by taking active part in the development plans undertaken in the interest of the working class and the entire tribes and nationalities living in proud and revolutionary Afghanistan.

The vast national father-

land front which is going to be established soon in Afghanistan will constitute the cornerstone of the national and democratic revolution under the guidance of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan the vanguard of the working class and all toilers of Afghanistan. In the vast national fatherland front the craftsmen, businessmen, progressive intellectuals, patriotic clergy, traders and national capital holders will have a prominent place and they are expected to play important role in the realisation of the lofty aspiration of Saur Revolution.

The heroic working people of Afghanistan have joined forces with the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, DRA government and the armed and security forces to ward off foreign aggression and the subversive activity carried out by the counter-revolutionaries and mercenaries sent into Afghanistan by the US imperialism in collusion with Chinese Chauvinism and reaction of the region.

The people are not only giving their support to the Saur Revolution but practically defend its hard-won gains with their blood. The young elements and the valorous people join the revolutionary army in a bid to safeguard the national sovereignty and national independence and territorial integrity of revolution-

ary Afghanistan against the enemies of Saur Revolution.

The government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan under the leadership of People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan makes every effort to bring radical changes in different aspects of the life of the people of this country. Under the Fundamental Principles which is the most valuable gift of the new phase of Saur Revolution the party and government leadership pays profound respect to the sacred religion of people and the customs and traditions of different tribes and nationalities living in Afghanistan.

Workers and peasants who form the backbone of the progressive regime in Afghanistan take active part in boosting up industrial and agricultural outputs envisaged in the current socio-economic development plan prepared after a thorough study of the various aspects of the life of the working people.

Likewise peasants are expected to grow bumper crops this year to cope with the target set in the 1360 development plan. In this plan emphasis has been placed on higher agricultural output to meet the essential need of the people for food.

It is a happy fact to note that our people are happily prepared to wipe out the vestiges of the past feudal and prefeudal relations in the country of which they suffered mu-

ch in the long past years. The people take great pride in the achievements made since the victory of Saur Revolution and the valuable gains obtained after the second phase which liberated the people, the homeland and the revolution.

The DRA government and the people of Afghanistan are fully sure and convinced that the final victory is with the people who staged and brought to victory the Saur Revolution.

The imperialist propaganda against Saur Revolution and its lofty and valuable gains will not create any rift between the people and the party and DRA government.

Whether the imperialists and enemies of Saur Revolution like it or not the progressive regime is forging ahead to serve the interest of the working people represented and led by the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan.

The hard working people and toilers of Afghanistan believe that they have selected the right path and will continue with their stride towards the fulfillment of their formidable mission. They are standing on the same front against the US imperialism, Chinese Chauvinism and International and regional reaction.

We hope the ties between the party, government and people get further strengthened in the benefit of free and revolutionary Afghanistan.

AYATOLLAH MESHKINI FORESEES WIDESPREAD REVOLUTIONS

Tehran TEHRAN TIMES in English 15, 16 Apr 81 p 3

[Interview with Ayatollah Meshkini by Ali Sobhani: "Meshkini Hints of 'Public Revolution' Uprising Within Nations"]

[15 Apr 81]

[Text] Tehran--"The colonized have become aware that they had been colonized... Iran's uprising has made for new insights and hope in the nations who ponder why they should be oppressed to the extent they are," said a prominent clergy leader. "And a strong possibility exists that a total revolution will emerge within these nations."

The comments came during an exclusive interview granted by Ayatollah Meshkini to the TEHRAN TIMES, the text of which is as follows:

[Question] Hazrat Ayatollah, please outline what could be the reason that all world press media are propagating against Iran's Islamic Revolution?

[Answer] In the Name of God, the Benevolent, the Merciful. I should say that it is clear that the countries of the world are generally divided into two groups. One group is under the West and another is under the East.

Occasionally, there are people who are independent. In any event, the press and media do not belong to the independent countries and is mainly under the supervision of the Eastern and Western blocs and obedient to them. Mainly, it belongs to America.

These are the reasons for Iran's revolution being given unfair weightage and in addition forced to move against Iran and for the media to speak against Iran, and this entails some reasons:

For example: One can define it in this way: that the oil and other profits that America used to take away from Iran while enjoying total control over all this country. This has gone out of the hands of America and there is no doubt about that, and an overwhelming profit went out of America's hands.

Well, of course, for America it is logical that in any case and for any reasons it should move against Iran's revolution.

For this reason, the U.S. and its satellites and puppets, and even some of those who are not puppets but have economic ties like Japan and the like, act on what the United States orders and desires.

Therefore, they must have launched propaganda campaigns against Iran's revolution and against Iran by following it (the American orders and desires).

It is for this reason that America has lost an overwhelming chunk of its economic area, and also Iran which was a sensitive spot and it is sensitive from the strategic viewpoint, and this also has gone out of the hands of America.

Another aspect, and this is the real point, is this that America and the Soviet Union are two powers confronting each other and they have always stood against each other, and each of them thinks that finally one day the war will end.

One thinks that it should do something and triumph over the other, while the other also thinks likewise about the next.

It is said that they even possess the buttons of atomic and hydrogen bombs in their hands and anyone who pushes the button earlier, will destroy the other one.

Such is the competition between them. And they have usurped the smaller countries and they have colonialized them.

When Iran went out of their hands, it was almost as if America had taken a step back from here and was afraid that Russia will move one step forward. We have Russia's attack on Afghanistan as an example.

Competing like this, they have been dealt a blow by this revolution. In one direction at least, America was dealt a blow. Now in the economic direction when the overwhelming income which it had from Iran was denied was also a severe blow.

Naturally, it will instigate anyone it likes to enter the battle, to talk against Iran's Islamic Revolution and to destroy this Revolution.

And, of course, you know how much and to what extent the publicity is effective in the world to destroy one group, one country, one economy, for example.

Another reason is that it is the problem of fear experienced by the Islamic countries and non-Islamic and Islamic governments towards their nations. Since the Islamic governments and the other governments under the domination of the Superpowers, know the position they are in and they know that the position of these governments within the nation, is that very position of Pahlavi's Iranian government with its nation.

This means that they know what they are doing for their nations and for whom they are working for and whose puppets they are. They are moving to profit the East and the West to the loss of their own nation.

And they are afraid, that one day a similar fate which, from the side of the nation, befell the Pahlavi family and Iran's government and Majlis, awaits them.

And, therefore, in order to avert such calamity they in their press and media of their group totally criticize Iran and Iran's uprising, because if they praise it, then their nations will also move against them.

Anyway, it is natural that they are afraid of this take-over which would eventually bring their downfall. Therefore, all have started against Iran even resorting to distort the truth.

Another aspect is that if you really think of it, despite these realities that prevail in their countries, the eyes of the nations have been opened to some extent.

This means that the colonialized ones are comprehending that they have been colonialized. The colonialized ones and the helpless nations who have been robbed of their thinking are understanding that they have been colonialized.

[16 Apr 81]

[Text] In another, expanded and accurate definition, Qoran says: The deprived ones who are the masses of the people and the weakened ones who are the masses of the people, have realized the meaning to this attention and understanding, even though their attention in view of accuracy more or less differs from each other.

And anyway they have paid attention that we have been colonialized. There is oppression for them, deprivation is there and these people are thinking that it is natural that one human being understands his own fault, he then thinks of coming out of it.

If he understands his weakness, he pursues its treatment. And therefore, the countries and governments and all countries have come to realization and the governments especially the Superpowers are afraid of this realization.

And the uprising of Iran is keeping alive in the nations, this realization and hope that the oppressed are beginning to realize a strong probability that a public revolution would explode within the nations.

As a result, the governments and the Superpowers are hitting Iran's revolution out of fear and are presenting a distorted view and/or show its downfall in order that this thinking and realization, which is taking roots within the masses of people, be destroyed.

Another aspect is the religious point of view. The religion of Islam is a religion which, in confrontation with any religion and any power, is a power which is great.

And perhaps we Moslems have not understood this issue or they did not let us understand it. The big powers know this and those Christian scholars, officials and Jews do take into consideration this point.

Because they read Qoran and they observe the teachings of this Qoran, if this Book is paid attention to by the Moslem people, what wisdom and wise guidance this Qoran has!

If they could but see that the Qoran has a number of guidances and if that very same Islam as it was during the time of the Prophet Mohammad (S.A.W.) comes alive, what could it not do against the Superpowers?

And for this reason, officials of Christianity and Judaism with reliance on their governments, want to suffocate Iran's revolution and the deep effects that threaten the Superpowers and governments.

This is because they understand that Iran's revolution has emerged, based on faith and Islam. They see that this movement is an Islamic movement.

The religious aspect is feared and causes them to divert the press and media against Iran.

Another aspect is again a religious aspect. The issue of Communism and materialism is a very deep issue in the world and it has very much gained influence in many places.

And they are aware of this, that no religion can block the propagation of Communism and if Communism wants to expand, the Torah (holy book of Jews) does not have the power to save the soul away from the clutches of Communism.

This is because the Torah, the crippled, is a Book which is throughout composed of one sentence and has not spoken one word about the 'Other World,' despite the fact that the Other World has a deep effect on faith.

And likewise, they have shown God as a plain statue in the Torah, and the Bible is also like this, these are not the Books which can resist Islam. Islam's detractors know that the only religion that can stand against Communism, which can raise its flag for naturalization and can answer it and triumph on it is Islam.

For this reason, the Communist countries have also risen against the Islamic revolution. Anyway, these are the directions and reasons for which the world media has risen against Iran's Revolution.

Following is the second part of the interview.

[Question] What is the duty of the Moslems of the world against the notorious propaganda of the Superpowers?

[Answer] Regretfully, the Moslem nations of the world are generally "sleepy" and Islam and the Islamic standards, as far as I know, have not entered into the Moslem world and have not infiltrated into the Moslem mind.

Except a meagre minority of Moslems who, at the most, follow a lifeless traditional Islam, somewhat trying to keep up with Islamic orders but adjusting to some extent with the oppression and colonialization.

And such an Islam exists in the Islamic countries. Like Islam which was earlier observed by Bani-Ummaiyyeh and Bani Abbas.

It were the facts of Islam that sustained a society. (But) the Islamic countries are generally dormant and immovable and if they really want to uprising against the sophistry and well-equipped machines of the Superpowers, it is their duty to embrace Islam in its totality.

And at the beginning an awareness should be attained and in the way that you have put up your question, the nation does not understand it.

Firstly, there should be an awareness and the Moslem clergy, nation, the intellectual group, students and teachers and those who are knowledgeable about Islam, should understand that true Islam themselves and also propagate it in their nation.

When the correct Islam is injected within the nation and also they are familiarized with Qoran, this in itself will be a moving motor for the nation. Therefore, you see, this is the duty of the Moslems if they want to raise the flag against the Superpowers and to defeat them.

This is the very same duty of Moslems from where Iran and the Iranian nation started moving and that is to pay attention to the ideals, standards and orders of Islam and Qoran and joining each other's hands for unity.

Therefore, from here should it start and it should be carried out by the thinkers of Moslems in their countries.

At first, the nation cannot start by itself. One particular group within them should start working and they should serve as a moving motor and to take inspiration from Islam and uprising countries like Iran and mobilize the people to uprising against the Superpowers.

Of course, they can do this through the channel of economy. But if some want to uprising against the Superpowers through using economy, it will be like the Communistic Nicolai. But that will also once again become another Superpower on their heads.

[Question] What is the meaning of "export of revolution"? Please provide clearly the practical ways of exporting revolution.

[Answer] Exporting of revolution has two meanings. One of the meanings is wrong and that is "we export our revolution in the meaning that we attack and move towards the countries and expand our territories and enter there. To subject all under our rule until it becomes one revolutionary country of Iran."

This is wrong and we do not believe in it. We do not want to invade other countries. And, secondly, perhaps we do not have the power to accomplish this. And we do not have it.

And even if we had that power, this is not what we desire.

But another way of exporting revolution is to generate activities and try as the Iranian nation did by uprising from within the ranks of society and moved against the oppression of their government and their system.

We should try that the Islamic countries should raise the very same movement. This is the meaning of the export of revolution. This means that we should do something which will make the nation of Iraq also uprising and move and overthrow their government and establish an Islamic rule and/or monarchy and/or constitutional and/or monarchical dictatorship and/or any type from the different types of rules in the world, and our revolution has been (thus) already exported there.

And, similarly, the other governments should also do this. And this kind of export is our desire. This means that the Islamic nations who are under the domination of their governments should uprising, and if they are not reformable, overthrow them and replace it with another government, an Islamic government. And all live under the umbrella of Islam.

Since the country is Islamic, the fact is that your program is Islamic and its law is Islamic law. The nature of implementation is to be the nature of Islam and we aim at such a type of export.

Now, what is its method the way to enforce this kind of an aim in the other countries? Of course, this way is rather a difficult one. Either we have to export this matter within the other countries through the press and media and propaganda and publications and newspapers.

And/or to convey our revolution, our aim, and Islam through the students who are outside this country.

(To be Continued)

CSO: 4920/307

SUCSESSES IN 23 APRIL OPERATIONS REPORTED

LD241246 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 1030 GMT 24 Apr 81

[Text] During operations yesterday and last night by the valiant combatants of Islam on the Bazi Deraz front, 290 servicemen from Saddam's infidel forces were killed and heavy losses were inflicted on the enemy. On the Gilan-e Gharb front, too, during the past 24 hours two servicemen of the forces of blasphemy were also killed.

According to the PARS NEWS AGENCY correspondent's dispatch from Kermanshah, the battle is continuing on the Qasr-e Shirin Heights and the combatants of Islam, after a continuous battle lasting 3 days and nights and the liberation of Heights No 110, during the late hours of last night cleansed the Bazi Deraz Heights No 1050 of the odious presence of the forces of blasphemy of Saddam al-Tikriti and, in this period, killed or wounded more than 860 servicemen of the enemy forces and destroyed nearly three battalions of Iraq's 8th Mountain Division, together with all their equipment. Up to the last few hours of last night, they moved 320 prisoners of war from the battlefield to the area behind it.

The deputy commander of the 81st Armored Division, who returned to Kermanshah from the battlefields this morning, in an interview announcing this report, said: The battle continues to rage to recapture the other heights in the region and to drive the enemy out. The fast-flying eagles of the airborne division and the artillery of the ground forces of the Islamic Republic of Iran are backing up the combatant forces of the army of the Islamic Republic of Iran, the Islamic Revolution Guards, the tribal mobilization fighters, men of the forces of the mobilization of the oppressed, the Imam Khomeyni devotees and the Muslim Peshmerga in their military operations. He said: In the past 2 days we succeeded in crushing 5 enemy counterattacks, and in yesterday's operations we killed 30 enemy servicemen and, on the whole, cleared Height No 1050 of enemy elements.

The deputy commander of Kermanshah's 81st Armored Division also said: During last night's battle another 60 servicemen of the infidel forces of Saddam al-Tikriti were also killed. Throughout the hours of last night and today an artillery battle has continued.

Colonel 'Attarian, commanding officer of Western operations, this morning described the situation on these fronts as being good, saying: The battle continues to rage fiercely.

On the basis of this same dispatch, during operations carried out by the fast-flying eagles of the airborne division over enemy positions and trenches heavy casualties were inflicted on the forces of blasphemy, and enemy positions on the heights overlooking Cham-e Imam Hasan and on the Bar Aftab Heights were destroyed. During yesterday's operations these brave pilots killed 140 enemy servicemen and destroyed 2 personnel carriers, tanks and 10 trenches of the forces of Saddam al-Tikriti.

At 1950 last night, the brave pilots of the airborne division attacked the forces of blasphemy and destroyed 15 enemy vehicles and 1 fuel tanker stationed at an enemy assembly point on the heights overlooking Cham-e Imam Hasan.

In another dispatch, quoting the commanding officer of operations in Zahab and of Kermanshah's 81st Armored Division, the PARS NEWS AGENCY reported that during the Bazi Deraz operations four enemy tanks were destroyed yesterday. The commanding officer of Zahab's operations previously said: The Islamic Revolution Guards captured three enemy tanks. In an interview, the commanding officer of the airborne division's operations on the Zahab front, described the airborne division's part in these military operations, saying: Up to 2000 hours last night, the fast-flying eagles of the airborne division made a total of 64 sorties.

In conclusion the dispatch says: Most of the prisoners of war who have been interviewed said: Under no circumstances do we wish to fight the Iranian forces. But if we had not opened fire on you in the course of operations, those members of the Iraqi Ba'th Party who are present on the fronts would have shot us in the back. So we were forced to take part in the war.

On the basis of the same dispatch, an artillery and mortar battle is continuing on the Sumar front. During yesterday and last night, thanks to the opening of fire on enemy positions, two foxholes of the blasphemous forces of Saddam al-Tikriti were destroyed, three enemy servicemen were killed and six were wounded.

The number of enemy casualties on the Gilan-e Gharb front during the past 24 hours has been reported as 30. Also, thanks to the opening of mortar fire by the fendarmerie of the Islamic Republic of Iran several enemy trenches were destroyed.

CSO: 4906/241

REVOLUTION GUARDS CAPTURE STRATEGIC HEIGHT IN WEST

LD241749 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 1630 GMT 24 Apr 81

[Statement issued by the public relations office of the Islamic Revolution Guards Corps central headquarters on operations executed in the "last 24 hours"]

[Text] In the name of God, the compassionate, the merciful, following the preparation of a successful battle plan by the Islamic Revolution Guards Corps, today at 1700 hours the last strategic and important height in the (Bazi Deraz) region in the west of the country was captured by our brothers. At present three important heights in the region have been purged of the filthy presence of Saddam's infidel followers as a result of the heroic acts of the selfless guardsmen backed by the champion brothers in the army of the Islamic Republic of Iran, the airborne division, the generous cooperation of members of the mobilization organization of the oppressed, the corps and the Imam's followers. These heights are now controlled by the army of Islam. To date more than 362 persons captured from Saddam's army have been evacuated from the battlefronts, and a large number are still waiting to be evacuated. During these operations a large number of Saddam's aggressive army were killed or injured, and a large amount of ammunition and armored equipment was taken from the enemy as booty.

In the Owraman region, following an attack launched by the Ba'thist forces and the counterrevolutionaries on one of the region's heights, a severe confrontation took place between the brother guards and the infidel enemy, as a result of which more than 90 of Saddam's army and the counterrevolutionaries were killed and a number of them were captured by our forces. In these operations seven of the combatants of the guards corps were martyred.

On one of the Dezful fronts combatant guards clashed with Saddam's infidel forces, as a result of which 60 enemy personnel were killed and 30 injured. A number of Ba'thist infidels were captured by our forces.

On the Susangerd fronts our brother guards' mortar fire destroyed an enemy tank, and a number of mercenaries were killed and injured. In clashes on the Darkhovin front between brother guards and aggressive Iraqi forces 10 of Saddam's forces were killed, 20 Iraqi mercenaries were injured, and 25 trenches were destroyed.

The Islamic Revolution Guards Corps hopes to succeed in its mission to universalize the Islamic revolution and to defeat all the manifestations of blasphemy and division helped by the blessings of God, by the support of the hidden Imam--may God speed his coming--and by the supervision of the Imam of the nation.

[Signed] The public relations office of the Islamic Revolution Guards Corps Central Headquarters.

CSO: 4906/241

STATEMENT ON RECENT FIGHTING OF GUARDS CORPS

LD270006 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 2030 GMT 26 Apr 81

[Summary] In a statement the Public Relations Department of Islamic Revolution Guards Corps has given some details of their operations. In (Kharavesh) and (Bazid Deraz) in the country's western region the guards countered an attack by an Iraqi brigade, killing or wounding many, also capturing enemy equipment and ammunition, five personnel carriers, one tank and one bulldozer have to date been captured and transferred behind the lines with the cooperation of army personnel. In the last 24 hours Iranian anti-aircraft fire has downed two Iraqi Migs on the Sare-e Pol-e Zahab and Qasr-e Shirin axis. One Iraqi helicopter also crashed during operations. The Iraqis are retreating on this front.

In the southern region exchange of fire continues, and on the (Zolfaqari) and Bahmanshir fronts the guards were able to destroy one tank, one vehicle and an ammunition depot belonging to the Iraqi forces. The guards' mortar division brought under fire an enemy supply road in the same area, destroying one dump truck and one vehicle as well as several heavy machinegun positions.

In the occupied region of Khuninshahr the guards' fire killed or wounded some Iraqis and brought several assembly points under fire. One 80-mm and one 60-mm mortar were destroyed. One Iraqi artillery position was also destroyed.

During the fifth day of the Iranian offensive against Iraqi forces a number of new Iraqi tanks were captured. One tank had only 276 (?km) on the clock. The captured Iraqi equipment includes personnel carriers, tanks, RPG-7's, field glasses, observation equipment, rifles, transceivers and personal equipment. The coordinated Iranian advance continues. Iranian artillery and mortar fire on the Sumar front destroyed three enemy trenches and one ammunition depot. On the Naft-e Shahr Road one dump truck and four personnel were destroyed. On the Gilan-e Gharb front three enemy trenches were destroyed and their personnel killed.

PARS NEWS AGENCY reports that on the Ilam front in the last 24 hours our valiant forces have destroyed one enemy ammunition tent, 16 trenches, two keeps and one observation position. During this operation more than 70 Iraqis were either killed or wounded. More enemy positions in the (Band-e-Abud) in the Kani Sakht region were destroyed by the gendarmerie forces and 25 Iraqis killed or wounded.

FIGHTING ON ILAM FRONT REPORTED

LD281916 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 1630 GMT 28 Apr 81

[Text] According to a PARS NEWS AGENCY dispatch from Ilam the valiant combatants of Islam, during the past 24 hours on the fronts of Ilam, opened fire on and destroyed 3 enemy tanks, 5 personnel carriers, 2 ammunition bunkers, 4 ammunition dumps, a number of trenches and 2 mortar emplacements and killed over 75 of Saddam's mercenaries.

At midnight last night, too, heroic army patrols, in the course of a series of operations coordinated with combatant guard brothers and fighting irregulars, opened fire on an enemy supply route in (Eyn Khosh) near Dehloran and inflicted heavy casualties and losses on the Iraqi aggressors.

According to this dispatch, Islam's zealous combatants during the same period, while continuing their battle against the aggressor forces, opened intense artillery and mortar fire on the fortifications, positions and deployment points of Saddam's mercenaries in the (Eyn Khosh), Shur-e Shirin, (Zil), (Kani Sakht), Kanjan Cham regions and the heights opposite (Meymak).

Army and guards corps patrols, too, in a surprise attack against the forces of blasphemy, succeeded in destroying 3 tanks, 5 'BMP' personnel carriers [presumably Soviet-built 'BMP' mechanized infantry combat vehicles] and several squad trenches, setting ablaze an enemy ammunition dump and killing over 70 mercenaries. During this attack, four of our combatants were also wounded.

According to this same report yesterday, thanks to continuous fire by gendarmerie mortars on enemy positions in the Shur-e Shirin and (Kani Sakht) regions, two enemy 120-mm mortar emplacements, one ammunition dump, one truck carrying supplies, two trucks carrying servicemen, one observation post, several one-man foxholes and a number of infidel servicemen were killed or wounded.

During the same period, enemy squad trenches and positions in the Kanjan Cham region, (Zil), (Meymak) and (Angazi) came under fire by our combatants and altogether two enemy ammunition huts, two ammunition dumps, four squad trenches, six foxholes and one observation post belonging to the infidel forces were destroyed. Five of their servicemen were also killed.

Also during the first hours of this morning, four aggressor Iraqi aircraft violated the airspace of Ilam's border regions, but thanks to fire opened by the vigilant air defense units they were forced to flee before contemplating any operations.

A dispatch from Razi Hospital in Ilam indicates that in the clashes during the past 24 hours three of our heroes were wounded and another was martyred while defending the borders of the Islamic homeland.

CSO: 4906/241

MONTAZERI SAYS KHOMEYNI WALKS IN GOD'S STEPS

Tehran TEHRAN TIMES in English 14 Apr 81 p 3

[Article by Ali Sobhani]

[Text] Tehran--Imam Khomeini whose every step is taken for God, is our ideal and our actions should reflect this aspiration, said Ayatollah Hossein-ali Montazeri. "Imam has never worked for himself but he always works for God."

In an exclusive interview with the TEHRAN TIMES, Qom's Friday prayer Imam in response to our question asking him to shed light on the Imam's multi-dimensional personality for foreign readers, said:

"I have known the Imam for 34 years. When I came to the holy city of Qom, the Imam was one of the famous combatants of the theological school of Qom where he used to give lectures on morals every Thursday and Friday.

"The lectures were certainly constructive for my morality. I used to attend the lectures and the late Ayatollah Mottaheri also used to attend these sessions.

"The Imam is a religious jurisprudent as much as being a real expert in Islamic principles and Islamic philosophy and in other fields relating to Islamic issues.

"He is a Godly man and each step he takes is for God. He never had any fear or terror to defend Islam. He himself once related of how, when he was first detained, those who were taking him showed feelings of fear.

"The Imam then recalled having consoled the terrified detainers: "What are you afraid of?" This is because fear could never conquer him and the people of God are such that they never fear anyone else besides God.

"The Imam, when he was a teacher in Qom, led a simple life and now, that he is the revolutionary leader, and is venerated by all, still leads a simple life. No change has come about in his life.

"His aim was always to defend Islam and the deprived people and he is the same now. He is an ideal for us and we should base our actions on that standard.

"It should not be like this, that when one of us has captured some power then that person's trend or his life-style should change.

Hazrat Ali (AS)--the first Shi'ite Imam--has said in Nahaj-ul-Balaghah that "Governments and capturing governments is a battlefield of trial for men."

"This means that when somebody has captured power and his trend and style did not change, and he has maintained now the very simplicity that he possessed earlier, then he is a man of God.

"And he (Imam) is such a man. He has superiority from the point of view of knowledge as well as from the viewpoint of virtue, piety, spirituality, love of human-beings and in defense of the Right and Just.

"He has never worked for himself but has always worked for God."

Referring to our earlier intimations to Ayatollah Montazeri on our aim to propagate Islam through our English language newspaper which is sent abroad, the clergy leader extended his good wishes and success for our achieving this end.

"Be victorious. We hope that the people who are trying to introduce the revolution and Islam will be supported by God and be compensated. As I have said, defending Islam and introducing Islam and the Truth is the duty of all of us.

"And what we regard as the Right and Just should be introduced to the world. By the Will of God, I hope that in this newspaper, through which all of you have an aim to introduce Islam and the revolution to the world, it will be accomplished to the best of our capabilities. I wish you success in your goals."

CSO: 4920/308

NEW AMBASSADOR TO VATICAN ANNOUNCED

NC282046 Paris AFP in English 2038 GMT 28 Apr 81

[Text] Tehran, 28 Apr (AFP)--Revolutionary Iran today announced the appointment of its first ambassador to the Vatican, a clear indication that the Moslem regime which has expelled priests and taken over Christian schools wished to improve relations with the Roman Catholic Church.

Appointed was Hojjat Ol-Eslam Shahi, a 43-year-old Shi'ite Moslem religious leader who was the personal representative of Iranian spiritual leader Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeyni to the Islamic Information Ministry.

Hojjat Ol-Eslam Shahi is the first Islamic religious figure to be accredited to the Vatican, Annibale Bugnini, Papal Nuncio in Tehran, told AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE.

(As is customary, official church confirmation of the appointment will not occur until an announcement is published in the Vatican bulletin, it was reported in Rome.)

Relations between revolutionary Iran and the Vatican hit a low last summer when the government expelled 16 priests accused of spying and put seven of the country's 14 Christian schools under state control.

The Ayatollah also repeatedly pushed aside appeals from Pope John Paul II to solve the crisis over the American hostages in Iran.

The Ayatollah once demanded of the Holy Father if "he would listen to the cries of the oppressed or the oppressors?"

But "today the atmosphere was totally changed," Annibale Bugnini said.

A major stumbling block remaining to be ironed out between the Vatican and Iran concerns the occupation of a Catholic mission at Tabriz 12 days ago and the shutting down of the mission church to prevent Easter celebrations.

Local authorities have dismissed these actions as the work of "responsible people" but the church doors remain closed and covered with revolutionary posters.

But "relations between the Catholic Church and the Islamic Republic in general are good" and the ambassador's appointment "gives hope that they will develop in a spirit of understanding and co-operation," the Papal Nuncio said.

Revolutionary Iran's first Vatican ambassador has previously run two philosophical and religious magazines, published in Iran's holy city of Qom.

CSO: 4920/318

IMAM URGES SHI'A-SUNNI UNITY FOR SURVIVAL

Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL in English 15 Apr 81 pp 1, 3

[Text of Khomeyni's speech to Farmers]

[Text]

TEHRAN, April 14 (Pars) — The Leader of the Islamic Revolution and Founder of the Islamic Republic of Iran, Imam Khomeini, yesterday urged devout scholars and academicians to cooperate with the Cultural Revolution Headquarters for drawing up the framework of college level curricula in a manner consistent with the spirit and the goals of the Islamic Revolution. He also expressed the hope that for the coming academic year those Iranian colleges which offer courses indispensable to the country, would resume work.

The Imam, who was talking to a group of farmers, and other people from the cities of Gorgan and Alabad and religious scholars from the Shareza Mobilization Organization at the Hosseiniyeh Jamaran, reiterated again that he personally knew certain people who were trying hard to undermine the Islamic Republic and the Revolution by creating tumult, but noted that he still thought it wise to give them just a little more time in the hope that they might come to themselves and discontinue plotting against the republic.

The following is a translation of the full text of the Imam's speech to the visiting group:

"In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful,

I would like to thank all my brothers, my Sunni as well as my Shi'ite brothers, who have come here from such distant places as

Gorgan, Gonbad and Baluchestan and I pray for their success in promoting the aspirations of Islam in our beloved Iran.

"It is no hidden secret from you, my brothers, that foreign agents and the people who tread the path of their own goals are all busy, under the pretext of Islam or other (pretexts) in designs for undermining this Islamic Republic which has been in the interest of the whole nation and especially of the farmers, workers, and the oppressed masses.

"They intend to destroy by divisive intrigues this country which has been redeemed for us only after the blood of hundreds of thousands of our people had been shed and after large groups of our people had become crippled and limbless. It is the duty of every citizen — our duty as well as your duty — to keep alert to foil these plots, or to bypass the divisive conspiracies without heeding them. Currently there are factional deployments, under the guise of being Shi'ite or Sunnis, by people who mean to divide our people.

"This is what was proposed by people dependent on the U.S.

superpower in the Taif Conference. They designed a scheme for dividing our people in order to — U.S. interests now, and — interests, later on. In the wake of that meeting we see evidence that people in our own

country are pursuing the same objectives, little aware of the fact that once the super-powers have stepped into this country nothing will remain of Islam, or of Shi'ism or Sunnism. Know you that if they should come back here another time, the powers whose interests have been suffering and who have been unable to perpetuate their plundering of your resources and who have incurred losses as a result of the presence in the scenes of you Sunnis and Shi'ites — know you that if they should return again they will destroy the religion which has been the foundation of your traditions! You brothers should always keep alert against all such conspiracies.

"If you should see that any of these people who are inciting others to division are not really dependent on the West or East, and that, if and when you find them to be people willing to do anything good for Islam and for their Islamic country, well then you should guide them in the right path by advising them.

"The solution to our problems does not lie in bringing the various opposing groups into hostile confrontation with each other but rather, in efforts to reconcile them. You and others should make an effort to encourage the coming together of our people and to consolidate their ranks so that we may help this nation, in an atmosphere of peace and unity.

reach its sublime Islamic aspirations, and that we may liberate the oppressed masses from the wrongs to which they have been subjected throughout the history of mankind.

If there is no peace, there will be no agriculture. If there is no peace there will be no industry and no one will be capable of carrying out any good thing for the oppressed masses. Let's take a look at Kurdistan and Khuzestan.

They are places wherein convulsions and tumult were created and many of the instigators did such acts in those places under the pretext of a professed concern for Islam. And it has been precisely for this same reason that the government has not yet been able to achieve impressive accomplishments in those areas. It has been so, because when peace and order are missing in a place, the people whose task it is to serve the people will not be capable of doing much under those circumstances.

"How is it possible for a farm worker to accomplish anything in a place where they set his crops ablaze? How can industries be promoted in a place where workers are made to walk out of factories?"

"My dear brothers, my dear Sunni brothers, my dear Shi'ite brothers! Be aware that corrupt roots which have happily left the scene, but which subjected you and your predecessors to an age-long oppression have left offshoots here which are intent on antagonizing you against each other under various pretexts so that they may pick the fruits from the seeds of destruction which they have sown. Today certain people are busy with plots throughout our country for making this nation be swallowed by the United States or the Soviet Union.

"There are also people — many with past records — who organize assemblies and meetings in Tehran for vicious ends. Ask them, what malice they have incurred in peace. Ask them, what damage was brought to them by Islam and by the Islamic Republic

and the Holy Quran to whose destruction they have dedicated themselves. Ask them, what has impelled them, knowingly or unknowingly, to embark on acts of conspiracy in the name of Islam. (To the conspirators): Do you suppose that we are not privy to your plots?"

"Indeed, we are! We are already in possession of documents attesting to your past activities. Desist from your conspiracies and your seditious meetings, and talk. This nation cannot tolerate the resumption of mischievous acts of a group of quasi-disidents who were mouth-pieces of the past regime and who, to their own wishful thinking, cherish the hope of playing in the scene again.

"Heaven forbid that the day should come when our people, who already know those who are working against the Republic and against the Islamic Revolution under pseudo-Islamic or other slogans, might decide to mete out their punishment! Do not think that this nation that has worked hard to give the Islamic Republic its present shape would let you now enter the scene and do whatever you may like to! Let them not entertain this hope that they may some day be capable of reviving a scenario here like that dreamt-up in the Tait Conference. To those who are intent on causing disruption and chaos here, I only need say that we know who they are.

"We have remained quiet thus far in an effort to make it possible for them to reconcile themselves with Islam. We do not expect to see them doing anything detrimental to Islam in the name of efforts for ensuring their own rights as citizens.

"The rights of every citizen, including the Sunnis, the Shi'ites and people of any of the officially recognized religions have all been provided for in the Constitution. Islam will treat you with Islamic justice. Do not insist so much on sowing the seeds of discord among the masses, and by rallying your people here and there, but instead think of Islam, Islamic godliness and the Holy Quran.

"Please remember you people, that once we are subjected to foreign domination we will have lost everything we have. The people's indulgence in divisive

acts will result in the foreign domination here. The enemies of Islam and of the Holy Quran are lying in ambush, and so are the people who have been slapped in the face by Islam and who abominate Islam. (To the conspirators). If you be tempted to bring chaos into this country under the pretext of Sunnism or Shi'ism, well then we know how to cope with you. We know what our duty will then be.

"We already know the people who are seditious, and one day — God forbid! — we may have to disclose their names. At this juncture when our country is being transgressed by the invading armies, and at this time when the foreign powers are providing support to our enemies in the battlefields, at this time that Saddam is making great effort to disrupt the Republic under the guise of Islam, although he is working against Islam, it is the duty of our Shi'ite, as well as our Sunni brothers, to watch out for any symptom of division among the people lest our brothers be beguiled by the seditious people, sometimes seen in Kurdistan and elsewhere in Kermanshah and Tehran.

"We warn those people to observe Islam and the interests of the Muslim nation. Their indulgence in seditious acts might necessitate a responsive action on the part of the people, ending in a situation to the detriment of all seditious groups.

"I urge that we steer the ship of this nation to a safe shore in the waters of brotherhood, peace, tranquility and co-existence. I hope that our farmers, a representative group of whom have come here today from the various parts of the country, will be able to promote the agricultural life of the country in an atmosphere free of dependence on foreign aid and that very soon we will have the agricultural output that the nation needs.

"As for the people and the groups who occasionally go to our farmers in order to discourage them from working I will only need say that they would be better advised not to listen to them at all. I would like you to expel such agitators from your circles and maintain your firm belief that as long as we stand firm in our belief,

in an atmosphere of peace and tranquility and as long as we are enacting the tenets of Islam, we will have ensured everything for ourselves in this world and in the hereafter. Insha'allah.

"Remember that the Islamic Republic is to the interest of the whole nation and if these seditious people should discontinue their indulgence in such acts you will soon see that the government and the nation are one and the same and that they will work unitedly for the prosperity of this nation and for making it independent of foreign countries.

"I hope that Islam will assume its true shape in this country and that we will achieve the welfare and the prosperity which mankind has been promised in Islam. What we need in this country is constant vigilance and awakenedness. There are people here and there, who are trying to find a place in our universities and in our colleges and, I only need to recall here that it is the Islamic Republic and Islam which will be the supporter of our university scholars and of our colleges and of all those who are toiling for this nation.

"Our Muslim people should watch against any tendency to create chaos in our universities and colleges and I would like to assure all our devout university scholars, who are willing to work in this country, that Islam will be their supporter and I urge them to cooperate with the Cultural Revolution Headquarters for designing a proper curriculum and syllabus for our college level education here.

"Our universities will not be capable of performing the mission they have unless they are permitted to do so in an atmosphere of peace. You cannot teach others unless you are permitted to do so in calm surroundings. Peace and order are basic necessities to be observed in all our colleges and if such things are missing in our institutions of higher education the efforts of our professors will be entirely in vain.

"How ever will our university professors be capable of conveying knowledge to our youngsters if

they are not permitted to so in a peaceful environment? What we need most is peace and order throughout the country, among our farmers, in our factories and industrial complexes and especially within our universities. It's our universities which form a focal point for receiving and disseminating knowledge to our youths and this cannot be done without having a tranquil environment.

"The humanities need devout people, committed to Islam and equipped with an infrastructure conducive to the promotion of monotheistic ideas. We should ensure that plots and seditious acts are totally abated in our universities regardless of the motivations behind them. Our professors, who are committed to the task of conveying their knowledge to our youngsters, should always remember that our universities are places wherein our people should teach and learn and not places meant to serve as points for harming the nation.

"You should ensure that in such places no deviation from the Right Path is made by our people and the people who are intent on undermining the Islamic Republic may not be permitted to carry out their subversive acts in such institutions.

"I hope that those of the universities which we need most will be reopened for the coming academic year and that our university staff will function in the manner expected of them, and I hope that all these tasks will be performed in an atmosphere of peace and tranquility and that this war which has been imposed on us by the super-powers will shortly come to its triumphant end. Insha'allah. I also hope that the sinful and criminal people will sit quiet.

"I pray to the Blessed and Supreme Lord for your good health and prosperity and dignity and I urge you to safeguard your spirit of brotherhood, which is a gift to you from the Holy Quran, and by which you can bring this nation to its salvation and preserve Islam.

"May the Peace and the Mercy of God and His Blessings be upon you."

AHMAD KHOMEYNI TAKES ISSUE WITH DISSENTERS

Tehran TEHRAN TIMES in English 14 Apr 81 p 3

[Text]

TEHRAN - Revolutionary Leader Imam Khomeini's only surviving son, Hojatolislam Seyed Ahmad Khomeini, Sunday announced his opposition to the stands of Imam's brother Ayatollah Punnadideh, Imam's grand son Seyed Hossein Khomeini, and a clergyman Majlis deputy from Rasht Ayatollah Hassan Lahooti.

In a preliminary address in the presence of reporters in a press conference during which the remarks came, Hojatolislam said:

At first, I feel it necessary to point out to one or two issues. Firstly, we, the relatives of Imam should pay attention that it is because of our closeness with him that we are interviewed or respected.

Otherwise, we are no one by ourselves and have no special features. Neither did we go to prison, nor tortured. Neither we are statesmen on the philosophy of East or West nor in the religious jurisprudence and principles of cleric. Neither we are scholars nor logical, we are only and only the relatives of Imam.

Therefore, we should precisely pay heed that if Imam was not there, nobody would ever have known us as such, in order to interview with us. So, let us not say "me, me" so much since we are nothing.

Since I am Imam's son, they come and interview me, print it and give headlines. Otherwise, there are many a people like me and still many more who are better than me,

and many like me and found in the theological schools all over Iran, but who are never interviewed.

Therefore, we should pay attention not to disadvantage of the relation which is against the religious order.

Another problem is that even we say "I do not have anything to do with Imam and I am me and me alone and my words are only my words and they are not related to Imam", even if these were said earlier because of lack of information, this is deceit and deception.

It is only because of the title of being Imam's son and etc. that they count us, if not, who are you for anyone to recognize you let alone to talk with you or give you headlines and everybody takes his own kind of advantage.

Even if you kill yourself, you are the son of Imam and with this posing that "No I have nothing to do with Imam and I speak only my words," things cannot be straightened out.

Therefore, either you should not give interview and/or if you give, Imam should agree with you cent per cent. Otherwise, you are the one who takes undue advantage, since you are no one (by yourself).

For God's sake, let us come to ourselves. Is it other than this. Therefore, let us try not to do a wrong thing, since we know that the likes of us are thousands and thousands of

people. Then why don't they go and interview them.

If it is a matter of superiority, knowledge and political maturity then there are many who are better than us. Then why do not they go after them?

Another issue that I should outline to the reporters is this: What do you consider as to be the standard of judgement in an interview? Is it advisable to make the un-Islamic values as the standard and to only and only establish the value of the interview on the basis of a relationship with Imam?

If it is so, do not do it since we will be deviated as a result of this attitude and the history will not judge you to be good as well."

Khomeini Jr. then responding to a question as to what his opinion is about the "Third Line," he said:

"Let me permit to look back a little in retrospect. One night, they said Mr. Ali Tehrani was in some place. I went in order to tell him "how can you justify such stands"?

When I went there, I saw a gathering. Just as I settled down, a series of questions cropped up. Since the beginning, it was my belief that there is one group who are maktabi and committed and they are welcomed by us.

There is another group of writers and orators and the so-called intellectuals, which does not have any knowledge of the society and are only

guarded so as not to be left behind, and their danger is not lesser than the second group.

I had said and still say that attention should be paid to the true Islam and these two lines which are wrong should be brushed aside and the Third Line is the only way of salvation and should be followed.

I did not say more than this. The Third Line is led by the Imam. Later, I heard that they have distributed this cassette and it has been told that I had some meetings with some persons before and as well as after my talks, I deny this.

I did not and do not have any meeting with anyone. Of course, some discussions were made in that meeting for which I would have given a response provided I had not been the son of Imam. But I regarded silence as to be advantageous.

The Hojatoleslam was then asked: "Regarding the stick-wielding, you wrote a letter to Islamic Consultative Majlis. Why didn't you write anything when similar incident occurred for others?"

Ahmad Khomeini responded: "This question would have arisen for some people even if I had written a letter regarding anyone and I also wrote in the letter the issue was not one of my brother Mr. Lahooti but the issue is trampling on the values.

"It was because of this that, even though I was not in agreement with the stands of Mr. Lahooti, I strongly condemned and do condemn the stick-wielding. These are the subjects which are totally separate from each other.

"The point that his stands are not right is one issue and the point that some people, because they do not like certain person or the contents of speech of someone does not tally with the thought and faith of others and they want to wipe it out with the stick, is another issue and all responsible and irresponsible people of the country did and do condemn it.

"Presumably allowing that the points of some person are even in opposition with the foundation of the Islamic Republic, the responsible officials should block it.

"In short, nothing can be solved by using stick except that the honor of the Islamic Republic will fall down and our people are severely against that and it should be vehemently fought with."

When questioned: "In the beginning, you have outlined some issues regarding the relatives of Imam. To what extent the relatives of Imam consult with each other regarding their affairs?" Imam's son replied: "In principle, they do not do anything so that they have to consult with each other.

"Sometimes, it is an interview, and that is all. And I clearly say that I do not accept the recent stand of my nephew Hossein Aqa and I am opposed to his statements.

"His talks concern only himself and not only it does not concern Imam but it does not even concern me. But this should not become the cause in order to say without any reason that he is affiliated to this or that group or party.

"No, he is not affiliated to any group. He had either got angry and expressed these hot issues and/or he thought it over and arrived at this result.

"In short, there should be caution and alertness not to regard someone, who has said things which were not to our likeness, as deviant and/or dependent since this is dangerous.

"For example, I am against the stands of my dear uncle Ayatollah Faramdideh, at the same time that I strongly respect him. We should not forget his great many services.

"I, despite my strong attachment to him, am against his stand. These two things are an issue which is totally separable and should not be mixed together.

"He is really a resistant and is respected by the Imam and, God forbid it, no insult should be made to him."

IMPACT OF POWER STRUGGLE ON CLERGY REPORTED

London 8 DAYS in English 4 Apr 81 p 15

[Text] 'IRAN'S CLERGY play an important role in this revolutionary republic, and this is what the struggle between the president and his opponents is all about. Bani Sadr is opposed to our influence,' said Hussein, a religious student, as he curtly described the conflict that has divided his country.

Hussein is one of the 10,000 talaba (religious students) in Iran's holy city of Qom. Qom is the heart of clerical Iran. Most of the top clergy live and teach there and this is where almost all the clergy got their training. Qom is a very different city from the capital, cosmopolitan Tehran, some 140km to the north. On its dusty streets no woman can be found without the chador, the full-length, usually black, veil.

Half the town's life centres on the clerical schools, book shops and the Great Shrine with its gold-covered dome. The other Qom is a local market town of over 300,000 people for whom the bazaar is the centre of life. It is a poor city, lacking buildings of distinction, and during the late Shah's days was largely bypassed by modern development. Few people visit Qom, except on pilgrimage, and it does not encourage the curious.

Small demonstrations have been held supporting the president in Qom, but the atmosphere is one more conducive to his opponents. Among the militant young talaba, support for Bani Sadr is slim. 'As they sit waiting for the classes to begin they all read and discuss the *Islamic Republic* newspaper,' said one student. *Islamic Republic* is the daily morning paper of the fundamentalist Islamic Republican Party. Bani-Sadr's principal opponent. 'There may be some who prefer the president, but they wouldn't say so openly.'

Dominating the city are Ayatollah Khomeini and senior teachers. Shiite Islam contains a highly complex body of laws and

proscriptions, the learning and interpreting of which is the central task of an aspiring cleric. The great men of Qom are venerated for their age, knowledge, and deductive powers. The Marja, a handful of living authorities on the laws, exercise supreme control over both the teaching and the city itself. One Marja, Ayatollah Kazem Shariat Madari, was for many years the doyen of Qom, but clashes with the new regime's government and leaders over the Azerbaijan regional problem have led him to lie low for over a year.

Disruptions of his classes by fundamentalist students have caused him to abandon public lectures, and he now teaches his own senior students in a building close to his home. His place at the head of the system has been taken by Ayatollah Mohammed Reza Golpaygani. The hardliners among the talaba would clearly prefer to be following Ayatollah Hussein Ali Montazeri, Qom's Friday prayer leader and the man seen by fundamentalists as the likely successor to Ayatollah Khomeini. But despite their militancy, they still abide by the religious etiquette which governs relations among the clergy.

The apparent anarchy of a system where one can choose to 'follow' the Marja of one's choice and to pay religious taxes to him alone given the lack of precision about who is and who is not a Marja, is settled by an informal but all-powerful apparatus. The respect given to an individual clergyman for his learning and his age, and thereby the order of precedence given him within the clergy as a whole, is simply established by communal consent.

The more venerable the teacher, the more senior will be his students, and it is common for these to spend 10-15 years in Qom studying under increasingly more

senior mentors. A special bond exists between top teachers and their best students, and a list of Ayatollah Khomeini's senior students reads like a directory of those now holding important positions in post-revolutionary Iran.

There are increasing fears in Qom that the political and government activities of some sections of the clergy are causing a backlash in the city. 'They have announced end-of-year exams for the first time in history,' complained Morteza, a religious student of five years' standing. A council to oversee religious training, recently set up largely on the initiative of the fundamentalists, is seen by many as a further step towards centralisation.

The Islamic militants are, of course, in favour of many of these changes. But as each is introduced it runs up against the 'veneration system'. 'Of course many of the teachers are too senior to have to submit to any committee composed of their juniors,' is a typical response.

Arguments between Bani Sadr and his predominantly clerical opponents at a national level have their reflections in the city, but it is a reflection mediated through the 'veneration system'. Should the clergy continue to play a key role in Iran's politics and affairs of state, it must be of concern to the president and others that today's clerical students support his opponents so overwhelmingly.

CSO: 4920/290

FRIDAY IMAM CALLS FOR GREATER RESOLUTION, SOLIDARITY

Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL in English 12 Apr 81 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Hojjatoleslam Khamene'i by KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL, date and place not given]

[Text] Introduction. In the name of the most High, Seyyed Ali Khamene'i the Imam of the Friday congregational Prayers of Tehran, Deputy of Islamic Consultative Assembly (Majilis), and Imam Khomeini's representative in the Supreme Defense Council, is one of the combatant and committed ulema of Iran today. He is one of the ulema, who participated constantly in the Islamic movements of Iranian people during the time of strangulation and served many terms of imprisonment. He became a member of the Revolutionary Council after its formation. After the Revolution, he continued his services as a member of the Assembly of Experts and of the Majilis. Friday Prayer is another strong hold from which he has been able to raise his voice on behalf of the people of the world against mostakbarin (arrogant, affluent).

Furthermore, he has used this stronghold to lead nation towards the unity which the nation badly needs. At the outbreak of the imposed war and upon the formation of the Supreme Council of Defense, he was selected as the Imam's representative in the Council since then, his direct presence in the war fronts at the side of soldiers and guards of Islam, has been pronounced source of encouragement for them.

Inspite of his many pre-occupations, Mr. Khamene'i had an exclusive interview with KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL, the full text of which is as follows:

Revolution is a new knowledge, a new recognition upon which a movement is based; the export of revolution is to explain our knowledge and recognition for the people of the world.

We now manufacture military equipment and spare parts that we used to import. We now repair and service the equipment which used to be repaired by foreigners.

The Friday Prayers' Imam of Tehran had not finished his sentence when 3 little children came in and asked him to take the money for fighters at the fronts.

Our warriors at the fronts should not be deviated from their struggles as a result of internal differences, but they should give guidance and counsel to the officials.

In Friday Prayers when we raise our heads and see that hundreds of thousands of human beings have the same objectives as us, this matter gives us confidence and solidarity.

We believe that today and forever, no efforts will be fruitful without attention to God, remembering Him and the softening of hearts towards God.

The Friday Prayer is effective on the penetration of correct thoughts and giving proper direction to the public.

Q: In your sermons in the Friday Prayers, you have frequently talked about the export of revolution, which is also greatly stressed by the Imam. In your view, what is the best way to export the revolution?

A: First, the meaning of the export of the revolution should be made clear. Revolution is not a commodity that can be packed and exported. Revolution is a new knowledge, a new recognition upon which a movement is based. The subject of recognition is one which is propagated even if it is stopped. At one time, this recognition was limited to a special number, gradually spreading and encompassing the whole country. The mobility based on the recognition appeared.

If this knowledge is a correct one, it will automatically be disseminated among fertile brains and hearts in other countries and nations. If they approve of and tend toward this knowledge, then the mobility based on it will be naturally produced. What one should do in this context, which is called export of revolution, is to explain our knowledge and recognition for people of the world. We should say what we mean, what we understand by social life, responsibilities of a government, independence and by freedom. We should say what rights we allow for human beings, what free life means, how it can be put under chain, and how one can liberate oneself from the chain. This is our philosophy, disperse throughout human living space. The needy hearts and alerted brains will absorb them, after which necessary mobility will be produced. I have repeatedly said that revolution is like fresh sprung air, the pleasant odor of flowers, which will permeate everywhere that fills all fertile lungs and from

which all can benefit. This is the significance of the export of revolution.

Q: As a member of the goodwill missions that visited the different countries of the world, you recently made a trip to India. What problems did you notice there, and to what extent your trip was successful?

A: During my trip to India, I noticed that all imperialist propaganda machinery is geared towards prevention of our revolution from being recognized. I saw that the Indian masses who have heard briefly about our revolution, are very fond of it, and are keen to have more information about it. There are some newspapers available to them that are financially and politically led by anti-revolutionary sources, and are therefore giving distorted pictures of the facts. People have vaguely felt that these accounts are not true, and have some indications that they are lies. For instance, during the first week of the war imposed by Iraq on Iran, some Indian newspapers wrote that Iran was finished and a country known as the Islamic Republic of Iran no longer existed. When I went to India, five months after the outbreak of hostilities, they saw that Iran still exists and is inflicting casualties on Iraq at an ever-increasing rate. They found out that those newspapers were telling lies. Therefore, they were eager to listen to those directly involved in the revolution. When people saw me in gatherings and learned that I had come from Iran, they exhibited a great deal of enthusiasm. In Kashmir, Hyderabad and other places, I was accorded enthusiastic welcome, similar to that which I

observe in the gatherings of Tehran. Thousands of people came to listen to my speech. In Kashmir the car in which I was being driven was nearly lifted up — a demonstration of the extent of their eagerness to listen to someone coming from Iran. There, I declared that if the imperialist propaganda machine is active against us, trying to keep us in silence or to give a distorted and vague picture, we would use other channels out of the ordinary. I was asked what channels we would use. Later, when thousands of Indians had gathered to listen to my speech, I told them that we should meet people face to face, that we would not use the press as the intermediary, as it would handle the matter in any way it likes. I told them that this unusual channel gave momentum, developed, and brought our own revolution to victory.

Q: With due regard to your accounts of the Indian people's feelings, and the existence of various active centers abroad, what steps have been taken to coordinate the activities of these centers, so that the mostaz'afeen's expectations can be fulfilled?

A: In the past, since the revolution until recent times, there were no set programs for information. But, fortunately this government is considering ways to draw up a correct plan for information. Now, the High Information Center is finding solutions to the problems involved in propagation and is acting accordingly.

Q: As the Imam's military advisor, you have been at various warfronts. What changes have been brought about in you and what impressions have you developed?

A: The impressions made upon me during my presence in the fronts are similar to those produced in our military men. They had never been in the fronts before and had only learned military techniques in classes and I also had only heard some things about it from others. We all saw and experienced things in the battle fronts. We saw the enemy, war, clashes and witnessed the enemy's brutality tactics. We did not know the meaning of the word attack or what it meant. We have now seen all these with our own eyes. The changes brought about in me are in proportion of the extent of my presence there.

Q: We have frequently heard that soldiers of Iraqi Ba'athist regime, flee away when confronted with our military and guards to what extent is it true?

A: It is not true that soldiers always flee when confronted, neither Iraqi, nor those of any other country. After all a soldier should discharge his military duties. The business of war is not momentary, but constant skirmishes. More than anything else, men should persist. It often happens that a force advances up to a certain point, and when it shows negligence for a moment, the scene is reversed. What seals the destiny of a war is perseverance, which is based on motive and strong faith, lacking in Iraqi forces. In their confrontation with the enemy, if our forces can forebear their preparedness and talent, not exhaust their supplies, arms and ammunition, (not necessarily equal), then the enemy would not resist for long, because he lacks faith and motive. The Iraqi army collapses and slackens as days pass.

Initially as it took us by surprise it could advance about 60 kilometers into Iran, which was a vain motive. Saddam's loudspeakers kept on saying that it was now Iraqi territory. But upon waking up in the morning, Iraqi soldiers found themselves being pounded by our forces, realizing that it was not their territory. Iraqis suffer hunger and hardship, thus weakness and faithlessness, due to the lack of conviction in the war, is apparent in them.

Q: We have heard that some progress is made toward military self-sufficiency. Can you elaborate on it?

A: A government like Iran that is seeking to sever its dependency and is opposed by the big powers of the world, has to attain self-sufficiency. This emergency has inevitably been an important incentive for making a greater effort. We have made some progress in the field of armaments and other fields as well. You hear news on the radio everyday about the development of equipment or new inventions. We now manufacture military equipment and spare parts that we used to import. We now repair and service the delicate equipment, which used to be repaired by foreigners.

Q: Since the beginning of the war, our people have been dispatching men and supplies to the war fronts. At the present stage, what do you think should be done and what do you expect from people in keeping up their morale?

A: We have endless expectations from people, because the Iranian nation, not the government, is involved. Therefore, as long as there is need, people should present at the scene and help. We see that the morale is high in people. For instance an old woman offered 150 toman, a soldier (who is himself fighting at the front) gave 3,000 toman and a child offered the entire contents of his kitty to the war victims. These show that the enthusiasm for assistance is widespread. If we want to keep this spirit alive, we should continue to describe the facts to people, making clear for them that they are the real party to the war and that their revolution is being threatened by foreigners. When people understand these facts and gain sufficient information they keep on helping the war.

Q: Now that Saddam is caught in the trap he has laid, we see that various delegations, including the one from Tash Conference, have come to Iran frequently, trying to mediate and bring about peace. What is the latest news about these comings and goings?

A: The latest news is that we have emphasized for all these delegations and people that we resent war, support peace but a

peace that has no worse consequences for us than the war. Why do we fight knowing that it entails cruelty, murder and plundering? But a peace that entails more aggression, plunder and murder is worse than a war. We want peace but we do not agree to oppression. It can be called honorable and just peace.

From our point of view we who are a party to the dispute and are violated this just peace can be summarized in three points, which have been reiterated by Mr.

Barinadr, Mr. Raja's and others as well: (1) acceptance of the Algerian Accord of 1975, (2) unconditional and immediate withdrawal of the aggressive forces from our territory, (3) recognition and punishment of the aggressor. If these three conditions are fulfilled, peace will be established and we shall be the first party to accept it.

Q: News is received pointing to the instability of the present regime of Iraq, and creating the idea in people's mind that it may be substituted by another regime. What would be Iran's position towards the peace, if the succeeding regime of Iraq accepts the three conditions proposed by Iran?

A: As far as peace is concerned, it does not make any difference for us who takes charge after Saddam. If anyone, even the murderer Saddam accepts our conditions we shall accept peace. But it is up to the Iraqi people to decide what is to become of this regime; we do not interfere in their affairs. The future of Iraq is certainly Islamic one. We are sure that they will not accept anything but a genuine Islamic regime. What Iraqi people will do with the future regime, whether it comes through coup, or elections or through influence of powers, it is up to them to decide. We expect them to decide realistically and consciously. We are sure that, after Saddam, Iraqis will reject a dependent regime. We are not worried about the future of Iraq. If the candidate put forward by other countries is not a popular and Islamic one, he would not be accepted by Iraqi people. Other countries would cause unnecessary trouble themselves by putting up against Iraqi people.

On the basis of your information, how is the position of the forces opposed to Saddam within Iraq?

A: Dissent and opposition to Saddam is widespread, even within Iraq. Soldiers in garrisons and forefronts there lay down their arms. In northern Iraq, such as Kirkuk and Sollemanyeh the security officers would not dare appear at night. In Baghdad and the neighboring Medina-I-Sone, with one million population most of whom are mostaf'al the situation of the Iraqi regime is very shaky. People put up opposition constantly. People now freely listen to Radio Iran, even in streets which used to entail death penalty. Therefore, from the points of view of public wrath and dissent, the internal situation is beyond control. Public action against Iraq regime is not, however, general because a state of strangulation prevails. If someone is suspected, he as well as his wife, parents and even distant relatives will be subjected to torture. Due to repression, the public dissent is still concealed and may result in an explosion.

Q: Politically, Baghdad regime seems to have assumed a semi-defensive stance. What programs have we drawn up to deal it a blow in this respect too?

A: At present, the Iraqi situation is nearly fully defensive. They are now in our territory, and it is difficult to drive out an established force.

Our political work centers round two points, foreign propaganda and political relations. Some steps in this direction have been taken by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Since the outbreak of the war, Iraq has had constant diplomatic couriers. Big and small foreign countries are like cats that do not catch mice for the sake of God. They help Iraq only if they find indications of its victory. When they see that Iraq is doomed to suffer defeat and annihilation, they do not remain faithful to her. There is no loyalty in big powers, as it was shown in the case of the shah. When the U.S., U.K. and France see that Saddam's position

is shaky, they will be the first to discard him.

Q: The differences between responsible officials will inevitably affect the morale of our fighters at the front, as is shown by the fact that we have achieved great victories since the differences were removed to some extent after the Imam's order. What actions have you taken to establish a politically serene atmosphere?

A: One type of action should be taken by the responsible officials, another by the public. If officials feel that they are wronged, on their part they should refrain from any retaliation, and they should not encroach on other rights, without themselves being the wronged party. On my part, I have made great efforts in this regard, have talked to officials as well as newspaper editors to the extent I know them. Furthermore, in my Friday Prayers and speeches I have tried to create an atmosphere of calmness and understanding. But what the public should do is what they have already been doing. They, particularly our fighting forces at the fronts, not only should refrain from deviating their lines as the result of these differences but they should give guidance and counsel to the officials.

These interesting things are being done. For example, a rural soldier at the front told me "Please tell such and such persons to abandon their differences". He said it not in an imploring tone but in a commanding one, as befits a nation in its relation with its representative government. This state of affairs should exist in people. I advised the public from the beginning not to indulge in political arguments. Of course, some people tried to misinterpret this remark and quoting me to the effect that they should not deal with politics as distinct from political discrepancies. Fortunately, people have agreed and do not indulge in political arguments. (The Imam of Friday Prayers of Tehran had not finished his sentence yet when two little girls and one little boy six or seven year old entered the room each holding a

purse in his and her hand. The Imam of the Friday Prayers called on them kindly to come closer, caressed them and asked them about what they carried. One of them said that it was his Now Ruz money and the two others said

that their purse contain their savings of several years. They asked the Imam of the Friday Prayers to take the money for fighters at the front and for war-stricken compatriots).

After the children's departure from the room, we all wide smiling and poem... the children said "This is the culture of our society. How do the people of the world understand such things? Nobody forces or encourages the children to come here. Let us see, what is there in the atmosphere that encourages such things. This is a culture in the atmosphere, and a valuable culture too which was discussed before, this is very important and has suddenly converted into a new value. Just like when children used to take chewing gum or sang songs or played football on the streets. These are values created in the society at various occasions. Now the children want to give their money, so its a new value in our society which is very important."

To go back to our previous discussion, fortunately people now command the responsible officials not to quarrel with one another and to set aside their differences. Of course in any difference it would be better to find out who is the guilty or the guiltier party, because there is no discrepancy without a guilty party. The two sides quarreling with each other are not saint. Either one of them is in the wrong, or if both are wrong one of them is more so, the one who initiated the attack. It is better for the public to know who has started the attack. It would be better that the officials who have dealings with the public and whose words produce effect on the public not to interfere and let the people use their intelligence and spot the origin of the difficulties.

Q: Do you mean to say that if the responsible officials do not interfere and with due regards to

the existing propaganda climate, people really understand who the guilty or the guiltier party is?

A: We see that inside of these climate, people, or at least a section of them, have understood who is right, which is a source of encouragement.

Q: The Imam has called the current year the year of implementation of the Constitution. In your view, what is the role of ulama about fulfillment of the Imam's wish which coincide with the wish of the public?

A: Let us first see, what he means by the Constitution. This is exactly what he states in his order, namely that every responsible official of higher echelon should not take any action except what is specified for him in the Constitution. This means that the president, the Prime Minister, the Judicial authorities, the Majlis speaker and the Council of Guardians each should act according to the law. What are the duties of the Council of the Guardians? The Council interprets the scope of the Constitution. Therefore we conclude, that the functions of other five authorities are determined by the Council of Guardians. It is the Council that decides the duties of the President, the Prime Minister, the members of the cabinet, the judicial authorities and the Majlis, in accordance with the Constitution. Therefore the Imam through his order of several articles has shown the exact path, which if followed no difficulties would appear.

Q: Bearing in mind that the Friday Prayers have not stopped even under the most unfavorable weather conditions and that the attendance on rainy and snowy days has been very high, and with due regards to the fact that you, as the Imam of the Friday Prayers of Tehran, have been in direct touch with the prayer holders, please describe the spiritual effects of these prayers and the mobilization they have brought about among Muslims particularly at the time of war.

A: The effect of the Friday Prayers is not limited to the general mobilization during the time of war only, but it encompasses all the affairs of the Muslim nation as

well. Friday Prayers are the symbol of unity as well as assembly. When you are sitting in a place and discussing a topic, we do not know how many and what persons are thinking along the same lines as we do. But in Friday Prayers when you and I raise our heads and see that hundreds of thousands and sometimes millions of human beings have the same objectives as us, this matter would hearten and stabilize us and would give us confidence and solidarity. It is clear that this event which is repeated every week would be effective in the penetration of correct thoughts and proper actions and giving proper direction to the public. Furthermore the Prayers would have individual effects too because in the prayers there is a question of mentioning and remembering, in the sermon attention to God and recommendation to piety are important. This would soften the people's heart and bring them closer to God. We believe that today and forever, no efforts will be fruitful without attention to God, remembering Him, and the softening of hearts towards God. In addition, in the prayer, people get correct informations to the extent permitted by available time and from a reliable source.

Q: What's the news about the formation of the World Congress of the Imam's of Friday Prayers?

F17A: The Central Bureau of the Imam's of the Friday Prayers is situated in Qom and is indirectly supervised by Ayatollah Montazeri. The Bureau has taken certain actions in this regard and has requested those who know the Imam of the Friday Prayer of other countries to put their information at the disposal of the bureau. The bureau itself is gathering information and making preparations to bring the Imams of Friday Prayers to Iran after several months, of course those who dare to travel to the revolutionary Iran.

Q: Some of our readers abroad have contacted and asked us how is it possible that the Iranian ulama should have differences of opinion about jurisprudence problems which have practical effects?

A: Firstly, the differences between ulama are not on the essential points. In the case of land, the difference revolves not about *loava* (verdicts) but about the disbursement of cases. Everybody believes that a usurp piece of land cannot be taken into possession. The point is, that the piece of land held by such and such person is usurped or not. Therefore, you see that the difference revolves round recognition of external entity not a jurisprudential verdict. In the latter case, there is no difference about the principle problems but about the details which have little consequence, particularly about the transactions and such things which are currently being implemented in Islamic societies. Secondly, these differences do not lead to any delay in the legislation, because laws pass along their natural course and are ratified in the Islamic Consultative Assembly. The jurisprudence of the Council of Guardians compare them with the Islamic principles and study whether they agree or do not agree with Islam and the Constitution which is 100% Islamic. Their criterion for the recognition of Islam must be a jurisprudential verdict which is given by the leader, because others verdict can not be taken as criteria if different from that which is given by the leader. That is because most of the people support the leader of the Revolution who is himself a *faghih* and a religious authority.

Therefore, when a difference arises between the verdict given by the leader of the Revolution and others and if the problem is a determining one, the leaders verdict i.e. the *faghih* who is accepted by the overwhelming majority of the public is accepted. That is because according to the Constitution, the leader is the universal *faghih* accepted by the overwhelming majority of the *faghih*.

As regards of the differences you referred to, every religious leader defends his own verdict, it may happen that some people submit when they find out that the verdicts are not implemented. They expressed their views hoping

to affect the laws and in accordance to their own insights. This is a religious duty. But when they observe that the laws had been ratified and that their views and inference have no effects they will keep silence, but some continue with their opposition which is wrong.

CSO: 4920/288

LEADERSHIP BLASTED BY WELL-KNOWN RELIGIOUS FIGURES

London IRAN PRESS SERVICE in English 15 Apr 81 p 5

[Text] Two of Iran's top seven ayatollahs, Hasan Qomi and 'Abdollah Shirazi, in the northeastern religious centre of Mashad, have strongly criticised the leadership of the country. They made grave accusations against officials, going as far as reproaching them for not being real Muslims.

Both Qomi and Shirazi are regarded as moderates and both have big followings. Qomi especially enjoys wide popularity, on a par virtually of that of another moderate spiritual leader in Ayatollah Shariat-Madari who has so long been a virtual prisoner in another religious centre, Qom. Qomi has been criticised by many revolutionaries for making accommodation with the late Shah's regime, but he has spoken out frequently in the past. Observers see Shirazi joining him now in speaking out so firmly as a sign that more and more of the moderates among the clergy feel the public is becoming extremely dissatisfied with the state of affairs in the country.

According to Qomi most of the actions of officials in the Islamic Republic, including president Bani-Sadr, were not Islamic. Although done in the name of Islam, he said, things like the torture, confiscation of people's belongings and many other things were against Islamic laws.

Islamic revolutionary courts were often presided over by people who knew nothing about Islam, people who were corrupt themselves and pitiless; in most cases their decisions were devoid of legitimacy.

Qomi said that if the country was to get rid of the crimes being committed at present all revolutionary organs like the revolutionary committees and guards must be dissolved. He also warned the "real clergy" not to mingle in mere politics. "The real mission of the clergy is to give advice to the people and light the way for the politicians," he said. "Real Islam is a religion of forgiveness and compassion."

Shirazi said most of the country's difficulties came from several executive and power centres which "stepped over each other" and created disenchantment and dissatisfaction among the public. He also condemned the justice of most of the Islamic courts, and the revolutionary guards for their brutal treatment of the people. Most of the decisions to confiscate property were not only illegal but groundless, he said.

The ayatollah also condemned the taking of the American hostages as an error. And the decision to take away land from owners was "treason" to Islam and would ruin the country's agriculture. Once again Iran would have great need of things like foreign wheat.

OPPOSITION LEADERS BAKHTIAR, OVEYSI CONTACT SADAT

London IRAN PRESS SERVICE in English 15 Apr 81 pp 1, 2

[Text] Egyptian president Anwar Sadat has the blessing of the new U.S. administration in trying to coordinate the different Iranian exile opposition groups, in particular those of Shahpour Bakhtiar and General Gholam 'Ali Oveysi, according to opposition sources.

Informed sources in Paris told IRAN PRESS SERVICE that Bakhtiar met Sadat during his recent short visit to Cairo, which coincided with the visit to the Egyptian capital of U.S. Secretary of State Alexander Haig. Oveysi, who has been in the United States for some time, returned to his Paris headquarters on Monday and aides confirmed he would soon leave for Cairo and a meeting with Sadat as well as the new Shah Reza.

Oveysi's visit to the States was reported by sources close to him as "very fruitful." They would not elaborate but added that he is "more optimistic than ever (about toppling the Islamic regime)." They confirmed an earlier IRAN PRESS SERVICE report that Oveysi had, in fact, met high-ranking U.S. officials. IPS also printed his aides' firm denials of rumours that Oveysi had disbanded his own organisation.

The Paris sources which confirmed Bakhtiar's meeting with Sadat also said he "established contacts" with Haig. But neither Americans nor people close to Bakhtiar would confirm that Bakhtiar met Haig himself. Bakhtiar's visit at the same time as Haig was in Cairo was a lucky coincidence, in the words of the source close to him.

Although Bakhtiar, as a longtime prominent member of the National Front which opposed the late Shah's regime, has criticised members of the former Imperial family and has appeared to vacillate in his views on a return of the monarchy to Iran, he has expressed his support for the 1906 constitution, which is seen by other opposition figures as a basis for a modus vivendi between him and Oveysi, a confirmed monarchist. Oveysi has been reported in the past as expressing his own reservations about the return of the monarchy, but these reports have been denied by sources close to him.

There is a growing feeling among exiles that even leaving open the question of a return of the monarch could enable it to serve as a symbol, at least,

of traditional, nationalistic Iran which could help draw the majority of moderate Iranians into supporting a central alternative movement to Islamic and radical principles in the power game in Iran today. Assurances that the people of Iran would be able to make the final decision on their political future and a return of a monarchical system, it is felt, could give an alliance of opposition groups, even including rightists, a much greater appeal in Iran than Western media reports would suggest, sources in Paris said.

"There are signs that not only are a lot of people inside Iran utterly fed up with both the insecurity and the drabness of life that has resulted from the revolution but that the exiles outside are equally fed up with their lives away from home, too," one told IPS. "Between them they represent a much more crucially significant group than many Western observers appreciate, for whatever the mullahs and their cohorts plan in Iran they cannot run the country and economy without them.

"Nor could the Mojahedin and the leftist groups in Iran cope with their problems without their becoming a satellite of the Soviets, with all that implies for Western strategic interests. So the West has to make its choice. Either they must help install a more civilised regime in Iran, which will allow the brains to return, or they must accept that the future of the Iranian people will be an association with the Eastern Bloc. It's one or the other, no matter what the media theorists or the unscrupulously greedy businessmen in the West tell their governments."

CSO: 4920/310

BAZARGAN GROUP ATTACKS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU in German 28 Mar 81 p 3

[Article by Ulrich Tilgner: "This Puts Our Revolution to Shame"]

[Text] "There is a definite hostility toward human rights which has made practically all efforts in this regard impossible," says 'Ali Asghar Haj Seyyed Javadi, a writer who is chairman of the Iranian committee for the protection of human rights. He complains about the fact that his group was unable to engage in public activities even before their offices were seized 6 months ago.

The human rights organization, founded 1 1/2 years before the Shah was ousted, once was very active indeed. It not only took care of political prisoners; it published documentary evidence relating to torture practiced in the Shah's prisons and exercised far-reaching influence due to the fact that Mehdi Bazargan, who later became prime minister, was its chairman. Javadi himself published a sensational bill of indictment against the Shah in 1975. He succeeded Bazargan as chairman of the organization. Looking back, he now concludes that the organization did not gather enough experience after all. It had had nothing with which to oppose the human rights violations after the revolution. After the U.S. Embassy was occupied on 4 November 1979, the "mass mobilization against U.S. imperialism" was used "to stifle every voice of opposition and protest" and universal human rights were declared to be "American-Carterian human rights."

Today, the human rights committee amounts to little more than an intellectual circle. These days, most of the protests against government abuse are being formulated by the "society for the compliance with and the perfection of the constitution." This group was founded only last fall by prominent members of the Islamic movement, among them the widow of the Teheran ayatollah Taleghani; the widow of the Islamic movement's theoretician, Ali Shariati and the first post-revolutionary rector of the university of Tehran, Mohammad Malaki. Many of their statements are published in MIZAN, the Bazargan newspaper.

"Does it not put our revolution to shame to witness a scant 2 years later a repetition of the crimes of the inhuman system of the Shah?" says a letter addressed to public prosecutor Ayatollah Musavi Ardebili on behalf of "the political prisoners of Evin who have been on a hunger strike for the past 20 days." They had started their hunger strike as a protest against physical abuse.

Typical of the society's efforts is a 9-point declaration addressed to President Bani Sadr. In it, the society protested on 27 November of last year against the imposition and execution of death sentences "following summary and unconstitutional court proceedings" and "against war and liquidation in Kurdistan." The declaration went on to say: "In this republic there are very few arrestees and prisoners who do not show the marks of torture."

This could not be justified by any principle of jurisprudence, humanity or religion and is therefore to be condemned. The struggle against the Shah's regime, the declaration added, had also been directed against such misdeeds. "Is it not a disgrace that the protests of prisoners' mothers did not lead to mass arrests and beat-under the totalitarian regime of the Shah but that a group of mothers was brutally beaten and arrested for protesting the persecution of their children under the Islamic Republic?" was a question put to Bani Sadr when the mothers of imprisoned supporters of the revolutionary Islamic people's mujaheddin were arrested.

Protests are also voiced against extortion and corruption on the part of revolutionary judges, alluding to criminal cases in which sentences already pronounced were set aside by the responsible justice, Ayatollah Khomeini, in exchange for bribes running into the millions. Those sentenced were permitted to leave the prison once the money was handed over. And finally, the society protests against the attacks on freedom of expression which have led to an "alarming decline" of the Iranian press.

Mohammad Malaki sheds some light on how the group was formed. He himself had occupied a leading role among the Islamic intellectuals which opposed the Shah. Others, who had known each other before the revolution, organized the "society for the compliance with and perfection of the constitution" along with him for the purpose of controlling compliance with the constitution on a day-to-day basis and of working toward the perfection of the legal structure. "I am forced to say that torture unfortunately exists," Malaki says. "Our organization will try to uncover all such instances and to bring to justice those responsible for them."

Malaki admits that Ayatollah Khomeini has asked a completely independent commission to look into the torture charges but, he says, the elected members of the commission have not been able to judge the problem in a spirit of neutrality. Torture is declared to be a form of corporal punishment; but it is inadmissible --as many

clerics also contend-- to inflict corporal punishment on a person and then to put him in jail as well. In many cases, the beatings are used to obtain testimony. But the Koran says that a person can be punished only when he has been proven guilty.

The "society for the compliance with and the perfection of the constitution" tries to collect documentary evidence and publishes such material several times a month. But it does not want to go public internationally. In the meantime, leftwing writers and intellectuals have also come out with two resolutions protesting the suppression of individual rights as well as of freedom of speech and assembly. This was indicative of a unification process of the badly split leftwing organizations. Though it varies, their basic program calls for the need to continue the revolution. They feel that those heading the Islamic Republic today have not emancipated themselves from the ban on occupations and party membership. And for all that, they themselves had fought against this deplorable state of affairs during the Shah's regime.

9478

CSO: 4403

REGIME CRITICIZED SEVERELY BY RENOWNED JOURNALIST

London IRAN PRESS SERVICE in English 15 Apr 81 pp 3, 4, 5

[Text] One of Iran's best known leftist journalists, an often jailed opponent of the late Shah, 'Ali Asghar Haj Seyyed Javadi, has accused the present regime in Iran of being no better and in many ways worse than the Pahlavi regime in an open letter he has sent to Ayatollah Khomeyni.

Javadi was replying to an attack on writers who compared the two regimes by the Ayatollah, admitting that it was he who first made the comparison. He contended that now all the people of Iran were making it since they were faced with attacks by club-wielders, confiscation, prison and torture. He blamed the Islamic Republican Party and its leaders, particularly Ayatollah Beheshti, for much of this, saying that since the party had appeared, action had been conducted with clubs and knives. "The ghoul of fascism has come out of the bottle since 23 months ago," he said.

During that time thousands of people had been beaten and hundreds sent to prison, accused of attending demonstrations and public meetings, or selling newspapers or carrying books. They had been beaten and injured and were still in prison. "Many people have complained to officials and the Ministry of Interior and have claimed that they are willing to name the leaders of these (attacking) mobs with documentation to back that up," Javadi said. "Many of the documents have been published, but nobody has taken action."

Where had all these new people who sat in all the official seats of the country and supported the fascist movement of club-wielders come from, Javadi demanded. "When we ask about their identity and their past we hear that they have come from America after the revolution," he said. "The club-wielders' Islam is of a kind that we never had in Iran and we have no knowledge about it."

As for people like Beheshti himself and other religious colleagues both Beheshti and (Education Minister) Bamonar had been writing educational books for executed former Education Minister Farrokhru Parsa during the Shah's reign, thus making propaganda for the Shah's regime. Was it not a prominent freemason in one of the Shah's last premiers Jaafar Sharif-Emami who had recommended Beheshti to serve the Iranian community in Hamburg?

Beheshti, Javadi said, claimed that intellectuals did not understand the meaning of freedom. The late Shah used to say the same thing. He said the people were not politically mature enough to be given freedom and economic democracy had to be established before the political kind. Were Beheshti and the IRP leaders saying anything different than the Shah did? Did the police and the Ministry of Interior really not know who were the leaders and what was the basis of the club wielders, and which groups of people were managing them? If so how could they discover coups and send scores of officers and military personnel to the firing squads? How did they organise a spying network in schools and government offices, and then sack those who complained or were not happy?

Javadi asked a whole series of questions. Didn't the appointment of Khomeyni's doctor and special medical adviser as head of Tehran University remind the people of the promotion of Dr Ayadi, the late Shah's doctor and provoke a comparison?

When they saw that the rulers of government were made up of relatives and colleagues or members of the Islamic Republican Party or allied groups, then why did Khomeyni get upset when comparisons were made with the former regime? Why did the Ayatollah become angry when it was said that the Islamic republic was an oligarchy, or family rule?

The Islamic Republican regime was, with the help of the Tudeh (pro-Moscow communist) party, in the process of building up a regime like that of Stalin. Tudeh knew well that with the clubbings, bullets and hangings, Iranians would end up in Tudeh's net. Nobody had ever asked how it was that on not even a single occasion had club-wielders disturbed the public meetings of Beheshti, Hashemi Rafsanjani, Khomeyni, Mussavi-Ardabili or Bahonar (all ministers or top officials of the Islamic Republican Party).

With the passing of the Retaliation Bill (which provides for the introduction of the "Eye for an Eye" revenge of the old Qoranic laws) how would any foreigner, or Christian or Jew dare to travel to Iran, Javadi demanded. Should they introduce the Capitulation system (the law which allowed Americans in Iran to be tried by their own courts for a spell of several years) again? Would the world accept that sort of judicial system? It would not.

Now terror and assassination of the opposition had been started by gangs, Javadi alleged. Those who did not bow to the IRP were put on the black lists.

Javadi said that when the torture in prisons had become more obvious Khomeyni had assigned a commission for "the investigation of torture"; soon this commission had changed its name to the commission "for investigation of rumours of torture." People immediately realised that the commission was not going to come up with a positive and objective report.

He went on to complain that the IRP and allied groups had taken full control of all media and mass communications and did not let the correct news and real problems of the country be communicated to the public. This was in direct contradiction with the Qoran and the constitution. After six months of the

war nobody asked the Foreign Ministry what were the roots of the Iraqi attack and whether this could have been prevented by political solutions; nor did anyone tell people why universities had been closed and whether they could have consulted with the lecturers and educationalists to see if any other way could have been found for Islamicisation of the system; nor two years after it had begun did the Iranian people know the real reasons for the war in Kurdistan, why so many Kurds had been executed and why bombs were dropped on cities and villages in Kurdistan.

In the name of Islam and the revolution, and of revolutionary guards and comitehs, millions of rials were taken out of consumers' purses and pay packets while people had to wait for hours in long queues to buy basic goods. What kind of system of pricing and distribution was that, Javadi asked. The Stalinist system of rationing and coupons, together with the closure of schools, universities and factories, had reached a point where students were selling soap, cigarettes and matches at street corners.

Javadi added, "I have written many times that the revolution was not the aim but the tool. If the tool is not in the service of the aim, or goes off the right road, then the responsibility lies with those who have made this bloody and unique revolution deviate."

CSO: 4920/311

PUBLIC FIGURES OPPOSE NEWSPAPER CLOSURE

LD241333 [Editorial Report] Tehran ENQELAB-E ESLAMI in Persian 8 April 1981 carries on page 8 a 3,000-word roundup of the views of leading personalities on press freedom and the closure of the newspaper MIZAN.

Khomeyni's brother, Ayatollah Pasandideh, expressed the following view:

"I have been acquainted with them [presumably those connected with MIZAN] for many years, and I know that they have had good relations with the highest religious authorities and that they observe the precepts of Islam. Their services should be put to good use." Elsewhere, Pasandideh remarks: "The law says that the newspaper must be free."

Engineer Bazargan commented as follows:

"My view coincides with what appeared in the last edition of MIZAN. We are obviously opposed to what has taken place, notwithstanding the remarks made by the [special press] inspector. This was a political measure; they were out to settle political scores. There are other newspapers which we shall indicate that have regularly indulged in insult and vituperation and have provoked unrest, doing so very forcefully, while MIZAN, which I have just reread, has neither created unrest nor insulted anyone. This is an excuse. The Justice Department, with its party leanings, carried this out and still continues to act in this way. What we were saying was that the Justice Department should be independent of any party."

CSO: 4906/241

INTRIGUE DOGS IRANIAN WAR EFFORT

London 8 DAYS in English 4 Apr 81 pp 14-15

[Report by Tim McGirk]

[Text] **AYATOLLAH KHOMEINI'S** regime is once again waging battles on two fronts. The first, Iran's seven-month war with Iraq, intensified recently when both countries parachuted troops into the forested Zagros Mountains border region. Control of the Zagros mountain passes would give the Iranians a commanding hold over the routes leading into Baghdad, only 150km distant from the fighting. If the Iraqis succeed, they will have the two towns of Kermanshah and Khorramabad on the Iranian side of the mountains at their feet.

The second battle is being fought inside Tehran itself. Iranian president and commander-in-chief of the armed forces Dr Abol Hassan Bani Sadr has often quarrelled with the powerful fundamentalist faction since his landslide election 14 months ago. This time, however, the clashes are of unprecedented ferocity, and the fundamentalists have even assailed Ayatollah Khomeini himself.

The fundamentalist attack on Khomeini came soon after the Iranian revolutionary leader summoned the two warring sides — President Bani Sadr and the fundamentalist leaders (Premier Mohammed Ali Rajai, Chief Justice Ayatollah Beheshti, and Majlis Speaker Hojatolislam Rafsanjani) — to his Tehran home and issued a strict warning: no public political arguments while the war with Iraq continued.

Almost immediately, Iran's fundamentalist prosecutor-general, Ayatollah Musavi Ardebili, issued a stunning challenge to Khomeini's decree. In a Tehran radio broadcast, Ardebili charged that Khomeini's attempts to silence Bani Sadr's critics were an interference with Islamic justice. The fundamentalists want to bring Bani Sadr to trial, possibly on treason

charges, for allegedly ordering his supporters at a 5 March demonstration to attack militant Muslim hecklers, many of whose identification papers showed they were from paramilitary organisations close to the clerical hardliners.

How long the western-trained army can remain loyal to the beleaguered president remains in doubt. Political sources told 8 DAYS that the fundamentalists are trying to purge Chief of Joint Staff General Valiollah Fallahi and other Bani Sadr appointees in the military. The hardliners suffered a setback in their bid to gain control over the army when Khomeini revealed plans to oust two senior clergymen and two legislators, all fundamentalists, from Iran's supreme defence council. Political observers claim Khomeini's action on the defence council was another reason behind Ardebili's attack on the aged religious leader.

A purge of top-ranking military officers now could halt Iran's two-stage counter-offensive, according to western political analysts in London. If its Zagros Mountains campaign is successful, Iran's strategy will then be to recapture territory in the oil-producing Khuzestan province taken by the Iraqis last September. A limited counter-offensive by the Iranians this January failed to dislodge the 12 heavily-equipped divisions that Iraq fielded against the Iranians in Khuzestan. This winter, the plains of Khuzestan turned into a marshy bog where neither Iranian nor Iraqi tanks could advance against enemy positions. However, the Khuzestan soil is hardening, and combat is soon expected around the cities of Ahwaz — the centre of Iran's oilfield operations — Dezful and Susangerd.

Iran's ability to launch air raids deep inside Iraqi territory has been hampered recently by a lack of spare parts and aviation fuel, according to western military experts, who note that Khomeini's US-equipped air force flew few sorties in the last weeks, limiting itself to the defence of the Kharg Island loading terminal in the Gulf and onshore oil installations.

CSO: 4920/290

ECONOMIC INDICATORS DECLINE SHARPLY

Paris AN-NAHAR ARAB REPORT & MEMO in English 6 Apr 81 pp 3-4

[Text] Iran's President Abolhassan Bani-Sadr, who has never spared the clerically-dominated government from withering criticism, last week issued a devastating report of economic decline and stagnation since the Islamic Revolution. Mr Bani-Sadr, who spent his years in exile in Paris studying economics, warned that the government's "empty slogans" would not solve Iran's problems. "Continued lack of economic growth, high level of government spending, increasing unemployment and withdrawal of private funds from banks could lead to political and social tension in the country," he declared.

The figures cited by Mr Bani-Sadr told their own story:

--GNP was down 9 per cent in 1978, 13 per cent in 1979 and "not less than 10 per cent" last year;

--Money in circulation went up by about 40 per cent, from Rials 800 billion (\$10.6 billion) to Rials 1,430 billion (\$18.9 billion) in the six months of war with Iraq;

--A budget deficit estimated at Rials 800 billion (\$10.6 billion) for the six months from September 21, 1980 to March 21, 1981, the end of the Iranian year; mainly to meet this "chronic" deficit, the Central Bank had issued the equivalent of \$5.4 billion in new banknotes and coins;

--Inflation running at an annual rate of 27 per cent according to "inadequate" Central Bank cost-of-living statistics;

--Foreign exchange reserves were down from about \$10 billion in November 1979, when the American hostages were seized, to not more than \$4 billion by March 1981, even after transfers of frozen Iranian assets following the hostages' release;

--Oil production went down by 29 per cent in the year which ended in March 1979 and fell by a further 23 per cent the following year; there were no figures for output from March 1980; oil's share of Iran's GNP fell from 36 per cent to 26 per cent during the period for which figures were given;

--Agricultural output rose by 6 per cent in 1978 but declined by 3.5 per cent in 1979 and "the most optimistic estimates do not allow for any rate of growth" for 1980;

--Industrial and mining production declined by 17 per cent in 1978 and by a similar amount in 1979;

--Private savings stood at a record level of Rials 2,600 billion (\$34.4 billion) in March 1980 but "irresponsible statements" in the two months prior to the Iranian-Iraqi war led to a lessening of confidence in banks and Rials 270 billion (\$3.6 billion) were withdrawn between July 21 and November 21 last year; other reports put withdrawals during the last half of 1980 at Rials 430 billion (\$5.3 billion).

Mr Bani-Sadr's comments on these figures were equally trenchant. The country, he said, was suffering from "acute economic recession" and "the disorderly economic condition of the country" had meant there had been little investment. The fall in the level of applications for loans and credits to the industrial banks between March 1979 and March 1980 had been unprecedented but there had been signs of some improvement in the early months of 1980.

On the rise in money supply, Mr Bani-Sadr said that "in view of the negative growth of the economy during the last three years, such a figure is very alarming." The velocity of money in circulation in Iran was, however, not very high. "Otherwise," he commented, "an inconceivably high rate of inflation would have affected the economy." He added that "if production and aggregate supplies do not increase and the speed of money circulation rises, words like warning and caution will be inadequate to meet the threat." As to inflation, Mr Bani-Sadr believed that the Central Bank figures did not reflect much higher increases in the prices of essentials and that the poor had suffered more than the statistics would indicate. Moreover, rationing was introduced at the beginning of the Gulf war and this had spawned smuggling and black marketeering.

The fall in the share of oil in Iran's GNP was described by Mr Bani-Sadr as "a great change in the economic situation of the country and one of the achievements of the revolution. What now determines the level of our oil production is merely home consumption and we shall export it to the extent of meeting our foreign currency requirements and not for meeting the budget deficit."

The Iranian President's report stressed that the budget deficit must not be met by increasing oil exports. These account for 95 per cent of Iran's revenues in foreign currency.

The unbalanced nature of Iran's economy was underlined by Mr Bani-Sadr's call for greater efforts to develop agriculture, industry and mining. More than half of Iran's population of 39 million live in villages and account for only 10 to 12 per cent of the GNP. In the meantime, he noted, "the share of mines and industry in GNP, which was already very low, fell to 14.3 per cent from 15.8 per cent (in 1978 and 1979) and, according to initial forecasts (for the year ending in March 1981), production is still declining. This is one of our most serious economic problems and political difficulties."

CSO: 4920/303

IRAN

TEHRAN CITES 'MIZAN' ON MAY DAY

CF300856 Tehran International Service in Arabic 0800 GMT 30 Apr 81

[From the press review]

[Text] Ladies and gentlemen, tomorrow, 1 May, is workers day. Tomorrow, the country and many countries will be celebrating this noble occasion.

Under the title "The Workers' Role in Continuing the Revolution," MIZAN says: Workers day, the day in which tribute is paid to the toilers whose efforts achieve prosperity for society and self-sufficiency for the economy, (?flows with confidence).

MIZAN adds: The volume of production in any society is an indicator of the efforts exerted by workers in a society during a year. A rise in production is also evidence that the toiling workers have given their country and society a great deal of labor during a given period.

The paper adds: Thus it is possible to say that the fate of any society, the degree of prosperity it achieves, its economic and political independence and its self-sufficiency are the fruits of the workers efforts and are organically linked to this labor.

In conclusion, MIZAN calls on the honorable Muslim workers to assume their important and serious role in building the Islamic economic society so that they will have the last word in it, and not--as the forces of the left urge them--to establish the government of the proletariat, which will only lead to further [word indistinct] and idleness. The experience of the socialist camp has clearly proved this.

CSU: 4902/19

BRIEFS

WESTERN FRONT BATTLES--According to PARS NEWS AGENCY, our brave forces continue their battle against the invaders on western fronts: while liberating a strategically important region from enemy occupation, they destroyed two vehicles, three trenches, one ammunition tent and four personnel tents of the aggressors and killed more than 20 of them. The governor of Owraman announced the following: on the basis of reports received, the village of Keymaneh, a sensitive position in the Paveh border region, was cleared of the foreign enemy and its mislead elements from inside the country, and is now controlled by the defenders of the revolution. The same report indicates: yesterday, combatants of the ground forces opened artillery fire on enemy positions on the Sumar front, destroying two enemy vehicles and killing more than five invaders. The deputy commander of Qasre-e Shirin Gendarmerie Brigade was quoted as saying that yesterday, in the region of (Chaghalvand), our forces opened fire on positions of the forces of blasphemy. They destroyed a personnel tents, 1 ammunition tent and killed 11 of Saddam's mercenaries. Battles also continued on the Gilan-e Gharb front and our forces destroyed three enemy trenches and killed three invaders. Five other invaders were wounded. PARS NEWS AGENCY also reports that battles continued on the Minaqi (Kani-Sakht), (Kenjancham), (Malikshahi), Zahabi, Qasr-e Shirin, Rijab and Dalakuk fronts. Our forces opened fire on enemy positions in these regions and inflicted losses on Saddam's forces. [Text] [LD212230 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 2030 GMT 21 Apr 81]

ABADAN, KHUNINSHAHR BATTLEFRONTS--According to a PARS NEWS AGENCY dispatch, during an exchange of fire between the combatants of Islam and the Ba'thist mercenaries on the Abadan and Khuninshahr fronts in the past 24 hours four enemy personnel-carrying vehicles, one ammunition dump, two heavy machinegun emplacements and three trenches of Saddam's army were set ablaze. During these operations a number of Saddam's mercenaries were also killed. Similarly, three enemy foxholes and one trench on the other side of the Arvand Rud [Shatt al-'Arab] in Iraqi territory were destroyed by our brother guards. The same report says: In Abadan, our marine commandos at dawn today set ablaze several enemy deployment positions in the customs, harbor and shipping buildings and in a hotel in the occupied sector of Khuninshahr and killed another group of Saddam's aggressors. According to the same dispatch, in the same period, the combatants of Islam on Abadan's firing range and the Abadan-Manshahr axis road, apart from maintaining their firepower superiority, inflicted casualties on the

enemy mercenaries. In the early hours of this morning a fierce clash took place between the combatants of Islam and the Ba'thist mercenaries along the banks of the Arvand Rud, and our brother guards of the 'Ija' tribal committee, 'Ija' River, who opened fire on enemy positions in Iraqi territory, destroyed three of their foxholes and one of their trenches and inflicted casualties on the forces of blasphemy. According to a PARS NEWS AGENCY dispatch, the infidel forces sporadically subjected Abadan's residential areas last night and today to their long-range artillery fire and, as a result, several houses were damaged and a number of our compatriots in Abadan were wounded. [Text] [LD212228 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 2030 GMT 21 Apr 81]

AGHAJARI REVOLUTION GUARDS--According to the central news unit, the Khuzestan revolution guards public relations office has announced that in order to guard the revolution and its achievements, which is the result of the blood of hundreds of thousands of red-shrouded martyrs, and in order to protect the borders of our Islamic homeland and fight against the Ba'thist infidels and the deceived by superpowers, a number of selfless and sacrificing brothers of the Aghajari Revolution Guards today departed for the warfronts of faith against blasphemy to fight the battle of right against wrong and to join their brother warriors. The Khuzestan Revolution Guards hope that God may grant to these selfless ones victory over the infidel Ba'thists. [Text] [GF211648 Ahvaz Domestic Service in Persian 1330 GMT 21 Apr 81]

ILAM REGION FIGHTING--According to a PARS report from Ilam, exchanges of artillery and light and heavy arms fire were continuing on both sides of the fronts of Meymak Konjan Cham, (?Jin) and Mehran on the border axis in the province of Ilam in the past 24 hours; the enemy suffered losses. In these operations six of the devotees defending the revolution were wounded. This report states that in the occupied zone opposite Meymak this morning several enemy observation trenches with their occupants were set on fire; one person was killed and four others wounded. In addition, on 20 April, one vehicle carrying ammunition, one mortar launcher and two trenches belonging to the enemy on the Ilam fronts were destroyed and a number of enemy forces were killed or wounded. [Text] [LD222156 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 2030 GMT 22 Apr 81]

BATTLES CONTINUE--Exchanges of artillery fire continue to rage between the combatants of Islam and the forces of blasphemy on the Gilan-e Gharb, Sumar, (Zeleh Zard) and Dasht-e Zahab fronts. The combatants of the gendarmerie of the Islamic Republic of Iran last night captured enemy weapons and equipment, including various types of Kalashnikov guns, pistols, mortars and communications equipment which were left behind by Saddam's mercenary forces on the (Choghalvand) Heights. The armed forces of the Islamic Republic of Iran are continuing mopping-up operations against enemy positions and trenches on the (bazi Deraz) Heights and are pursuing the infidel forces, which have suffered heavy casualties and fled from the scene in panic and terror. According to a PARS NEWS AGENCY dispatch, certain informed sources say that the figures for captured prisoners will increase. So far, large numbers of Iraqi POW's have been moved behind the front lines. [Text] [LD231306 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 1030 GMT 23 Apr 81]

ZAHAB FRONT BATTLE--According to the latest reports from the Zahab fronts by the PARS NEWS AGENCY, at 1830 today, severe blows were dealt to the forces of blasphemy in successful operations carried out by Islam's combatants. At least 400 enemy soldiers were killed and injured, 60 soldiers of Saddam's army were captured by the heroes of the Islamic homeland. Twelve enemy tanks and four loaders were destroyed and two enemy helicopters were shot down in a fight with the eagles of our airborne division. Fifth collective and individual trenches, two cannons and three fuel tanks belonging to the enemy were destroyed as well. Also a large quantity of arms and ammunition were left behind by the enemy. The PARS NEWS AGENCY correspondent, quoting the military commanders at the battlefield and brother Abu Sharif, the Supreme Defense Council's representative in the west of the country, reported that up to now all of the enemy's counteroffensives have been unsuccessful and that the enemy has been forced to retreat from some of the occupied regions in the western part of the country. Talking to the PARS NEWS AGENCY, the combatants of Islam and their commanders congratulated the hidden Imam, may God speed his coming, and the Imam of the nation on the victories of today and the past 3 days. These victories were gained on the eve of the birthday anniversary of the Immaculate Zahra and the birthday of Imam Khomeyni, the leader of the Islamic revolution. [Text] [LD241952 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 1630 GMT 24 Apr 81]

IRAQI OFFICIALS EXECUTED--Quoting reliable sources, PARS NEWS AGENCY reports that 27 Iraqi officers, engineers and planners belonging to Saddam's invading army have been tried by a court martial of the Iraqi mercenary regime and summarily executed. The report adds that among this group, which was executed following the defeat suffered by the mercenary Saddam's troops in the western sector, were one colonel, one major and four other officers. [Text] [LD251322 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 1030 GMT 25 Apr 81]

BATTLE SUCCESSES--Iranian forces continued their attack on enemy positions today. "The defenders of the revolution today downed a Sukhoi-7 airplane and a military helicopter belonging to the enemy on the western heights of our country. They destroyed seven tanks and captured six personnel carriers, one tank, one steam shovel and one bulldozer as booty. Iranian forces foiled a counteroffensive launched by the enemy forces on Qasr-e Shirin Heights this afternoon. [Summary] [LD251912 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 1630 GMT 25 Apr 81]

AHVAZ BOMBINGS--PARS NEWS AGENCY reports that Saddam's weakened and defeated forces, which have become frightened of face-to-face confrontations with the brave Islamic forces, today brought the hero-nurturing city of Ahvaz and its residential areas under long-range artillery fire. The report adds that as a result of today's attack one house suffered some damage and the electricity cable of another district was cut off. No information is yet available on possible casualties. [Text] [LD251310 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 1030 GMT 25 Apr 81]

IRAQIS CAPTURED--According to a PARS NEWS AGENCY report from Kermanshah, last night Islamic combatants decisively foiled a counteroffensive launched by Saddam's mercenaries. The Islamic forces inflicted heavy casualties and losses on the infidels. The report adds that 70 of Saddam's mercenaries were killed or wounded and more than 128 were taken prisoner during battles last night and today. A total of 507 Iraqis have been taken prisoner during the past 4 days in the western sector of the country. During recent operations 18 enemy tanks have been destroyed, including 4 tanks which were blown up last night and today. In addition, two artillery pieces, one bulldozer and a number of bunkers have been destroyed, and one tank and one armored personnel carrier have been seized. [Text] [LD251320 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 1030 GMT 25 Apr 81]

ABADAN BOMBED--The central news unit reports from Abadan that as a result of the continuous air raids by mercenary Saddam's aggressive planes this morning, a number of areas in Abadan have been bombed and a few houses damaged. Three of our compatriots have been wounded as a result of this barbaric action that lasted until 1300. [Text] [GF261559 Ahvaz Domestic Service in Persian 1330 GMT 26 Apr 81]

ZAHAB REGION FIGHTING--According to a PARS NEWS AGENCY report, our forces crushed an enemy attack in the Zahab region. The enemy suffered considerable losses and casualties and was forced to retreat. In another operation, 10 enemy entrenchments in the Zahab Heights were destroyed and 20 Iraqis, including a commander, were killed. PARS NEWS AGENCY, quoting military informed sources, reports that during today's battles in the Zahab region, two Iraqi tanks were set ablaze and destroyed. According to a central news unit report, the Iraqis today again shelled the residential sector of Ahvaz, resulting in 1 civilian being martyred and 13 persons being injured. During the past 24 hours, 12 Iranian personnel who had been wounded on the southern fronts were admitted into Ahvaz hospitals. [Summary] [LD261728 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 1630 GMT 26 Apr 81]

AHVAZ FIGHTING--Saddam's defeated forces have attacked residential districts in Ahvaz with long-rang artillery, as a result of which 2 people were killed and 10 others injured. [Summary] [LD261320 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 1030 GMT 26 Apr 81]

ANNIVERSARY RALLIES--The central news unit reports from Yazd that on the third anniversary of Soviet aggression against the Muslim country of Afghanistan a large number of Afghans resident in that city gathered in Yazd's Shohada Square and then staged rallies in a number of streets. At the end of the march a 12-point resolution was read and approved by those assembled, which expressed support for the Islamic Republic of Iran and called for the withdrawal of Soviet occupying forces from Afghan soil. A number of Afghans resident in Kerman also staged a rally for the same reason. Muslim Afghan brothers resident in Zahedan staged a rally in protest against the coup d'etat and intervention by the Soviet Army in Afghanistan. [Text] [LD272044 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 1630 GMT 27 Apr 81]

SHIRAZ REVOLUTION GUARDS--A group of brother mobilization members and Shiraz Islamic Revolution Guards have left for the battlefield. These brothers underwent the necessary training at the 'Abdollah (Nikbar) Base in Shiraz. [Text] [GF271926 Shiraz Domestic Service in Persian 1830 GMT 27 Apr 81]

ABADAN, KHUNINSHAHR BATTLES--According to a PARS NEWS AGENCY report from Abadan, battles between the defenders of the revolution and Saddam's mercenaries continued on all the Abadan and Khuninshahr fronts today. In Tir Square [in Abadan] our combatants destroyed three ammunition dumps, one mortar, one vehicle, one fuel tank and six enemy trenches. In another operation, three 75 caliber machinegun trenches, 1 semiheavy [as heard] 106-mm gun trench and a number of foxholes and bunkers of Saddam's army on the other side of the Arvand Rud [Shatt al-'Arab] were destroyed and a number of Saddam's forces were killed. According to the same report, during an exchange of fire today between the defenders of the revolution and the Iraqi aggressors, 10 of our forces were wounded on the Abadan front. Meanwhile, Abadan's residential areas today came under long-range artillery fire of Saddam's mercenary army and a number of houses were damaged. [Text] [LD282132 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 2030 GMT 28 Apr 81]

ANTI-TURKISH DEMONSTRATION--Tehran, 23 April (AFP)--Revolutionary guards fired in the air and used tear gas today in a vain attempt to break up a mass demonstration of Armenians outside the Turkish Embassy here. It was not yet known whether there were casualties. Several thousand Armenians demonstrated outside the embassy to mark the 66th anniversary of Turkey's "genocide of the Armenian people." (In 1915 an estimated 1,500,000 Armenians living in Turkey were massacred on government orders and another million deported. Armenia itself is now divided between Iran, the Soviet Union and Turkey.) The embassy area was meanwhile sealed off by security forces. [Text] [NC231323 Paris AFP in English 1305 GMT 23 Apr 81]

TEHRAN, KARAJ CLASHES--Tehran, 29 Apr (AFP)--One person was killed and at least 20 were injured in clashes in Iran yesterday between supporters of the left (?Islamic) "People's Mojahedin" and "hezbollahi" religious extremists, the press reported today. About 200 persons were arrested. On Monday evening a 16-year-old girl supporter of the Mojahedin was killed in Karaj. Today Iran's chief prosecutor, 'Ali Qoddusi, urged the "combatant Moslem people" to collaborate with the security forces, particularly during Friday's May Day parade, and remain vigilant against "counter-revolutionaries and traitors." Mehdi Bazargan, who headed the provisional government that followed the shah's overthrow, meanwhile warned against the rejection of "parliamentary opposition and criticism." He said that "illegal attacks against newspapers, rallies and political parties" could mean "an end to parliamentary opposition to the profit of armed struggle and internal disorders." [Text] [NC291732 Paris AFP in English 1719 GMT 29 Apr 81]

LEFTIST DEMONSTRATIONS--Tehran, 27 Apr (AFP)--Automatic weapon gunfire rang out today in a Tehran district where revolutionary guards used tear gas and warning shots to break up a mass parade of Islamic-left "People's Mojahedin." Demonstrators, who countered tear gas by setting fire to cardboard boxes, were protesting the "murder" of provincial supporters of the Mojahedin, the biggest left-wing group in Iran. About [figure indistinct] persons took part in the demonstration, which had not been cleared with the Interior Ministry. Heading the parade were "Mojahedin mothers" carrying portraits of two women--members of the organisation's militia--killed last week in Ghaem Shahr, northern Iran. Before revolutionary guards intervened, demonstrators chanted slogans against

both "reactionaries who had better know that the Mojahedin will fight to the end" and revolutionary guards who "fired on the Mojahedin instead of shooting at the enemy." Participants told reporters that although they were not taking part in a "show of force," the demonstration might nevertheless herald a "change" in Mojahedin policy. Meanwhile, about 1,000 Afghan refugees demonstrated in central Tehran against the Kabul government and the Soviet invasion of their country. The demonstration marked the third anniversary of Afghanistan's 1978 "April revolution" that brought to power the communist party headed by the late Nur Mohammad Taraki. Demonstrators carried banners saying "Russian criminals out of Afghanistan" and "the blood of our martyrs will drench the communist oppressors' palaces." The Soviet Embassy, although not in the demonstration zone, was heavily guarded by police. [Text] [NC271615 Paris AFP in English 1602 GMT 27 Apr 81]

MUJAHIDIN DAMAGE POWERSTATION--PARS NEWS AGENCY, citing informed sources, reports that Iraqi Mujahidin have blown up the powerstation in al-Sulaymaniyah. This damaged the station and disrupted power in the city for some time. Iraqi security forces have arrested other groups of Iraqi citizens in some Iraqi cities for demonstrating against Saddam's regime. Groups of Iraqi Mujahidin have attacked Iraqi forces in northern Iraqi cities, killing and wounding 18 persons and destroying 1 personnel carrier. [Text] [GF231843 Tehran International Service in Arabic 1730 GMT 23 Apr 81]

INTERPARLIAMENTARY CONFERENCE--The interparliamentary conference, during its recent meeting in Manila, approved the renewal of Iran's membership to its federation. At the meeting, the head of the Iranian delegation, Mr Khateri, delivered a speech on the features and characteristics of the Islamic revolution in Iran, the plots of foreign powers against Iran and the Iraqi aggression against Iran. The Iranian envoy said that the Islamic revolution in Iran is currently facing a stream of political and propagandist conspiracies as well as military aggressions. He added that, now, the aggressor is shelling our houses, hospitals, schools and mosques with bombs and rockets--which are being dropped on our innocent citizens. The Iranian representative also said that the International Federation of Parliaments should confirm the rights of nations through their true representatives. For this reason, this federation must not remain indifferent to the campaigns of oppression and arbitrariness to which most of the nations in the world are being subjected by tyrannical governments and their agents. [Text] [GF251559 Tehran International Service in Arabic 1100 GMT 25 Apr 81]

MEDIA OFFICIALS MEET AYATOLLAHS--The Voice and Vision Supervising Council and executive director met with Ayatollahs Golpayegani, Najafi Mara'shi and Montazeri in the holy city of Qom yesterday. Ayatollah Golpayegani stressed the importance of the role played by the audio-visual media of the Islamic Republic of Iran in guiding and advising people and teaching the great Islamic heritage. Speaking about the importance of the Islamic Republic and the need to support and protect it, he said: The countries ruled by the Pharaohs of the era are terrified of the Islamic revolution in Iran whose light has spread. [Text] [GF250525 Tehran International Service in Arabic 0400 GMT 25 Apr 81]

ENVOY IN PAKISTAN--The charge d'affaires at the Iranian Embassy in Pakistan participated in the Friday prayers held in Tobah Mosque in Karachi yesterday together with more than 3,000 Sunni brothers. On this occasion he delivered a speech in which he referred to plots by Islam's enemies to divide Muslims. He also stressed the necessity of unity between Sunnis and Shi'ites. Later, the Iranian charge d'affaires went to (Mariman) Mosque in Karachi to deliver a speech on various issues including the crimes of Saddam's regimes and the anniversary of the abortive U.S. military operation in the Tabas Desert. [Text] [GF250509 Tehran International Service in Arabic 0400 GMT 25 Apr 81]

MUSLIM UNITY STRESSED--The correspondent of the Voice and Vision of the Islamic Republic of Iran reports from Washington that Friday prayers were held at the Islamic Center in the U.S. capital as usual. The Friday Imam's sermons stressed the need for unity, closed ranks and general consensus among world Muslims. [Text] [GF251011 Tehran International Service in Arabic 0900 GMT 25 Apr 81]

KERMANSHAH ATTACK FOILED--PARS NEWS AGENCY reports from Kermanshah that the defenders of the Islamic revolution countered an attack launched by the aggressive Iraqi forces last night. During the fighting last night and today 70 Iraqis were killed or wounded and 128 were captured. Four tanks, two gun-bearing vehicles, one bulldozer and a number of enemy collective trenches were destroyed. Our fighters captured one tank and one (?BMB) personnel carrier. [Text] [GF251150 Tehran International Service in Arabic 1100 GMT 25 Apr 81]

MEDICAL DONATIONS--The Iranian Physicians Society in Britain has donated medicine and medical equipment for persons who have been injured on the battlefronts. The contributions were collected in cooperation with a number of Iranian students and businessmen living in Britain and a group of non-Iranian Muslims and have been sent to Iran. This gift is part of the assistance our citizens abroad are extending to their brothers and sisters, who are the victims of the war that has been imposed on Iran. [Text] [GF271338 Tehran International Service in Arabic 1230 GMT 27 Apr 81]

OIL OFFICIAL IN TRIPOLI--PARS NEWS AGENCY reports that the talks between officials of the Iranian Ministry of Petroleum and Libyan officials, which began yesterday evening, were resumed this morning. Hasan Sadat, undersecretary of the Ministry of Petroleum in the Islamic Republic of Iran, met Libyan Prime Minister [title as heard] 'Abd al-Salam Jallud in Tripoli today. The Libyan secretary of petroleum attended the meeting. The talks dealt with petroleum issues and the constructive role of the two countries in OPEC. [Text] [GF301026 Tehran International Service in Arabic 0900 GMT 30 Apr 81]

AZARBAYJAN DONATIONS--The United Muslim People of Western Azarbayjan continue to make (?generous) donations to the war-stricken border areas and to our dear war victims. The people of (?Sanandaj), which is affiliated with Marand, have donated 4,500 tumans. Red Crescent officials of the school in (?Mashnaz), which is in the [word indistinct] region, have donated 2,175 tumans to the special account for war victims. [Excerpt] [GF291824 Tabriz Domestic Service in Azeri 1500 GMT 29 Apr 81]

USSR-IRANIAN SHIPPING PROTOCOL--According to the Central News Bureau, during ceremonies held in Moscow today on the occasion of signing the protocol of the 12th ordinary annual session of the Iran-Soviet meeting on shipping, Mr Mokri, ambassador of the Islamic Republic of Iran, while stressing the need to overcome some difficulties in transportation--such as shipping problems on the Caspian Sea as well as unloading goods at the northern ports and at the Jolfa border--expressed the hope that the results of the negotiations and decisions made during the 12th session will result in an improvement in transit arrangements between Iran and Soviet Union. During his speech . . . said: There was a time when due to tsarist Russian and British influence, the Iranian Government was not even permitted to purchase ships or engage in shipping. However, after 60 years of rule by a government subservient to foreigners, the Islamic Republic of Iran now intends to strongly establish its national sovereignty in all aspects, including shipping rights. We hope that all countries of the world will respect Iranian rights in this matter in order to avoid any problems and so that we will be able to cooperate in the future on the basis of equality and complete understanding with all interested parties in the area. [Text] [LD300933 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 1630 GMT 29 Apr 81]

COOPERATION TALKS--The Czechoslovak ambassador in the Islamic Republic of Iran, accompanied by the Czechoslovak commercial counselor, conferred this morning with the Iranian minister of economy and finance at the latter's office. They discussed the promotion and expansion of economic and industrial cooperation between the two countries on the basis of mutual national interests. [LD280058 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 1630 GMT 27 Apr 81 LD]

SHIRAZ SUBWAY PLANNED--A subway will be constructed to ameliorate the traffic situation at the Bazar E-Vakil and Zand intersection. The Shiraz municipal government has asked experts and qualified persons to submit their plans and suggestions to the Shiraz municipal planning department by 11 May. [GF271948 Shiraz Domestic Service in Persian 27 Apr 81 GF]

MAHABAD RADIO OPERATIONS--The Central News Unit reports that the building and equipment of the Voice of the Islamic Republic in Mahabad, which had sustained damages as a result of attacks launched by counterrevolutionaries, have been repaired by the radio's employees and that Radio Mahabad has resumed operations after 62 days of silence. The Voice of the Islamic Republic in Mahabad relays network programs from 0800 until 1800 on 822 khz with its 10 kw and 1 kw transmitters. The Central News Bureau report adds that intensive efforts are being made in order to relay the network programs of the Vision of the Islamic Republic of Iran to different regions of Mahabad. [Text] [LD261432 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 1030 GMT 26 Apr 81 LD]

CSO: 4906/244

HUGE CONTRACTS AWARDED TO WEST GERMAN, AUSTRIA FIRMS

Paris AN-NAHAR ARAB REPORT & MEMO in English 6 Apr 81 pp 4-5

[Text]

Iraq has placed orders worth \$870 million with four West German and Austrian firms for road-building projects, it was announced in Bonn last week. Another contract, worth \$54 million, was awarded to the Munich subsidiary of Deutsche Babcock construction and engineering group for a cement factory. The firm won the contract in spite of a 25 per cent Iranian stake in the parent company, this suggests that Iraq's reconstruction and medium-term planning priorities are taking precedence over political considerations.

The West German building firm Dyckerhoff and Widmann and its consortium partner, Bilfinger and Berger, have won a joint \$510 million contract to build a 120-km section of a highway near Basra, Iraq's only port, on the Shatt el-Arab. Work is to start this month and to be completed within three years.

Another West German building firm, Strabag, will head a German-Austrian consortium building a 137 km road from Rutba, on the Jordanian border, at a cost of \$360 million. The consortium partners are Poulsenky and Zwiellner of West Germany and Universale of Austria.

Last November, Strabag won a \$500 million contract to build a new airport at Basra (*An-Nahar Arab Report & M/MO*, December 1, 1980). A spokesman for the company said last week that construction was proceeding smoothly, despite the proximity of the city to areas of fighting in the Iran-Iraq war.

The Deutsche Babcock contract, awarded by the Iraqi State Organisation for Industrial Design and Construction, is for a turnkey plant to extend the capacity of an existing factory by 100,000 tonnes a year, the plant will come on stream late in 1983. The announcement did not specify its location.

The construction work will be carried out by Lucke and Co of Brunswick and electrical installation will be the responsibility of Brown Boveri and Co of Mannheim.

The contract, which was put out for tender late last year, was awarded some ten weeks after the West German export credit guarantee office Hermes said that it was resuming credit guarantees suspended because of the Gulf war (*An-Nahar Arab Report & M/MO*, January 19). Since then a number of German firms have won orders in Iraq, among them Salzgitter and Karl Walter, which secured a DM 100 million (\$48 million) contract for a brick plant near Baghdad (*An-Nahar Arab Report & M/MO*, March 9).

These orders will contribute to the continued growth of Iraqi-German trade, which is likely to have reached about \$2.5 billion last year. Iraq is West Germany's second largest market in the Arab world after Saudi Arabia and last year's exchanges probably resulted in a surplus of about \$1 billion for the Germans. Latest available figures show that West German exports to Iraq totalled \$1.62 billion in the first 11 months of 1980, while imports from Iraq came to \$636 million. This compares with exports to Iraq worth \$1.14 billion and imports from Iraq totalling \$332 million in 1979.

BRIEFS

INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX--Baghdad, March 26, (KUNA): Iraq has concluded an 18-million dinar contract with a West German consortium for a giant industrial complex. The car assembly plant expected to cost over 1000 million Iraqi dinars will have an annual assembling capacity of 150,000 passenger cars, 25,000 trucks and 15,000 tractors. The plant, equipped with electronic production lines, will also provide employment opportunities for 20,000 workers and will engage in the production of batteries, tyres and accessories. German consultants will prepare bidding specifications for the project which will be put for tender on turnkey job basis including underlicensing. The broad lines of the project were prepared since 1975, the report said. In the meantime, the Baghdad-based Arab Union for Engineering Industries is conducting a comprehensive survey on the production of cars and allied products. The survey conducted in cooperation with the Arab Fund for Economic and Social Development and the Organisation for the Development of Industries will include possibilities of future expansion. The organization will also prepare standard specifications for car production as well as the creation of new industries for the manufacturing of engines, gears and spare parts. [Text] [Kuwait ARAB TIMES in English 27 Mar 81 p 4]

FRENCH POWER CONTRACT--Iraq has placed an order worth FF 300 million (\$65 million) for 80 electricity substations with Merlin Gerin of the French Empain Schneider group, it was announced last week. The units will be delivered on a turnkey basis over the next 30 months. Other members of the French consortium include Cables de Lyon, which, like Cit-Alcatel, belongs to the CGE group, and TRT. Equipment for the new contract, which should take two and a half years to complete, will be supplied by the electronics giant Thomson-CSF. This company has secured about \$1 billion worth of orders in the Arab world in recent months, including a FF 700 million (\$152 million) contract to supply Iraq with 27 microwave telephone exchanges. [Text] [Paris AN-NAHAR ARAB REPORT & MEMO in English 6 Apr 81 pp 8-9]

COOPERATION ACCORD WITH BELGIUM--Iraq has signed a cooperation accord with Belgium covering economic and technological exchanges. Signed during the visit of Iraqi External Trade Minister Hassan Ali to Brussels, the agreement is specifically concerned with cooperation in industry, agriculture, public works, housing, transport, telecommunications and technology transfers. Iraq is Belgium's second most important market in the Middle East, including Israel. Two-way trade in the first nine months of last year reached about \$550 million, with the trade balance of around \$100 million in favour of Iraq. Total Belgian exports to Iraq in 1980 topped \$300 million, according to reports from Brussels. After Saudi Arabia, Iraq is Belgium's leading Middle Eastern supplier, with Belgian imports of Iraqi goods

standing at around \$330 million at the end of September. Despite the unfavourable comparison with Saudi Arabia, which sold Belgium \$3,033 million worth of goods in the first nine months of last year, Iraq's trade exchanges with Belgium are much more balanced than those between Saudi Arabia and Belgium. Government sources in Brussels also revealed recently that a Belgian firm had secured a Belgian Franc 2.2 million (\$1 = BF 35) contract for a turnkey unit at the Iraqi phosphates complex of Al-Kaim. These sources added that Belgian companies were presently negotiating with Iraq for contracts worth several billion Belgian Francs. [Text] [Paris AN-NAHAR ARAB REPORT & MEMO in English 6 Apr 81 p 4]

CSO: 4820/300

WEAKNESSES OF IRAQI ARMY DISCUSSED

Tel Aviv BAMAHAHE in Hebrew 7 Jan 81 p 10

[Article by Hayim Raviv: "Where Did the Iraqi Army Fail?"]

[Text] The Gulf war between Iraq and Iran, which observers have already termed a "forgotten war," recently marked its 100th day. How did it happen that a war which had been planned by the ruler of Iraq, Saddam Husayn, to be quick and decisive has become an extended and draining war which no one can estimate when and how it will end? Where have the weak points of the Iraqi army been revealed?

An inflated self-image, denigration of the enemy, inaccurate estimate of the ground situation, and low operational caliber of the Iraqi soldier--these and others are the factors which have given the Iraqi-Iranian war its present character.

For many months, the Iraqi ruler had worked to prepare his army for war. It was expressed in, among other things, an intensification of training and logistical preparations. On D-day, the major part of the Iraqi army--10 of 12 divisions--was thrown into the battlefield. What were its objectives?

From following the developments in the relations between Iraq and Iran in recent years, it is possible to distinguish between two types of Iraqi objectives: explicit and implicit. In the category of the explicit objectives, the Iraqis sought:

--To seize control of the Shatt al Arab and thus to restore Iraqi sovereignty and remove any potential Iranian threat to the freedom of navigation of Iraqi ships.

--To put an end to Iran's actions designed to undermine the Iraqi regime. Under the leadership of Khomeyni, Iran has endeavored to bring about the downfall of the regime of Saddam Husayn and create a revolution in Iraq similar to the one in Iran.

--An additional objective presented in the background of the war is the return to Arab sovereignty of the three islands in the Strait of Hormuz which are under the control of the Iranians. In the past these islands had belonged to the United Arab Emirates, however since 1971 the Iranians have controlled them.

Alongside these explicit objectives, there were, as was stated, also implicit objectives such as the replacement or the overthrow of the Khomeyni regime and the conversion of Iran into a country with a regime comfortable to Iraq. A result of this would be the creation of Iraqi hegemony in the Persian Gulf. (It is to be noted here that the Iraqi aspiration for hegemony in the Gulf is an ancient dream. The Iraqis thought that the opportunity had come to them for its realization). Moreover, the Iraqis sought to deepen the division within Iran and perhaps even to seize territories from it.

According to the repeated statements of Iraqi spokesmen, Iraq has achieved its objectives in the war, and it is working in accordance with predetermined plans. According to them the war is being conducted by the political leadership, and it hopes, of course, to achieve political objectives. At this point the questions are raised as to what the Iraqis have actually achieved and if their achievements in the area have military and political importance.

The size of the Iranian territories captured by Iraq is approximately double the area of Lebanon, about 25,000 square kilometers, however, there is no territorial contiguity between these territories, and the key towns in them are not in Iraqi hands. In the north the Iraqis control the flatland west of the Zagros Mountains. They have also captured a number of towns, and they have penetrated here about 40 km. It should be noted that in a number of Iranian attacks, the Iraqis were pushed out of several places which they had previously captured.

In the south the Iraqis control the western part of Khuzistan, however they have been unable to capture the key towns in this region--Dezful, Ahvaz, and Abadan. The only town in their hands in this region is Khorramshahr while Abadan has been partially surrounded since last October. According to experts, the capture of Khorramshahr has no military significance. This town was an obstacle blocking the capture of Abadan. The Iraqis managed to seize the obstacle, however they have been unsuccessful in their effort to reach the key objective: Abadan.

Serious Logistical Problems

The main Iraqi objective in the war--control of Shatt al Arab--has only been partly achieved. Moreover, even if their control of Shatt al Arab would be complete, it would not be sufficient to guarantee Iraqi navigation. For this purpose, control of the three islands next to the Strait of Hormuz is required, and as was stated, these are in the hands of the Iranians. This is precisely the same as the situation in which it was insufficient to control the Strait of Iran, and control of the Strait of Bab al Mandeb was also required in order to guarantee the freedom of navigation to Fiat. Today the Shatt al Arab is paralyzed since the Strait of Hormuz is closed to Iraqi shipping, and Iraqi merchant shipping is dependent on the benevolence of its neighbors--Jordan and Saudi Arabia. In this regard it is noteworthy that the Shatt al Arab constitutes Iraq's only outlet to the Persian Gulf and to commerce with other countries.

Although the capture of the Iranian territories has damaged Iran's prestige and caused it certain economic damage as a result of the cut-off of the oil town of Abadan and their large refineries from the Iranian economic system, the damage virtually does not extend beyond that. The Iraqi penetration of Iranian territory has no special military significance in consideration of the fact that Iran has an enormous strategic rear of thousands of kilometers. The Iraqis have been unable to crumble or annihilate the Iranian Army. In short, they have been unable to capture territories which can serve as a political bargaining card. The fact is that they have not brought the Iranians to the bargaining table. The telephone call which they have awaited has not come.

The Iraqi-Iranian battle area extends along a front of about 600 km, from Qasr Sharin in the north to Abadan in the south, and it is divided into two regions: the south, Khuzistan, rich in oil, and the north, which encompasses the Zagros Mountains and the flatland to the west. Recently the ruler of Iraq announced the opening of a "new front" against the Iranians. According to him, his army has crossed into the Kurdistan sector in northwest Iran, however all signs indicate that this action is designed to

have a psychological effect primarily on the Iranian internal front, to create a focal point of agitation against Khomeyni's regime, and it has no real effect on the distant battle area.

The battle area itself is actually replete with natural obstacles. The Khuzistan region in the south is largely flatland. It has a developed road system, primarily from south to north, however it also has an extensive system of streams, rivers, rivulets, and swamps which make it difficult, of course, for the movement of forces, especially in the winter season. Offensive actions of the forces in this region, from the south, involve many bridging operations or other crossing methods. In the north, the main problem is in the mountainous area which requires the routing of traffic along specific roads, and the sum total of roads which join Iraq with Iran is small. Small Iranian forces are sufficient to control the number of roads in this region in order to cause serious trouble for the Iraqis. The Iranian flatland deployment in the north has been thin and in contrast to the south, the population residing in the flatland area has not taken part in the war. It has not offered any resistance, and therefore, the Iraqis were able to penetrate and take control of this area with relative ease.

In contrast, the Iraqis encountered serious logistical problems in the mountainous area, the armor was unable to operate effectively, and to the extent that it could, it did so as support for the infantry. The main forces which operated in this region were the infantry. An artificial, albeit not especially serious, obstacle was the oil pipeline systems in the region. The pipelines in this area rest on the surface of the ground. The Iraqis mainly encountered the pipeline system between Abadan and Khorramshahr.

If we sum up this point of the effect of the topographic factor, it can be said that the General Staff of the Iraqi Army did not make an accurate estimate of the terrain, and its troops were forced to fight against two enemies at the same time: the Iranians and the difficult terrain conditions.

To this must be added, of course, the effect of "General Winter." The war which began in the fall has continued into the winter. Torrential rains are falling in the region of the front and converting it into a swamp. Broad areas have become cold lakes of mud and mire which make both offense and defense difficult. The flooding of the areas is not only the result of the rains and the natural ravines. According to the reports of Western correspondents, it is sometimes caused by the Iranians themselves who maintain control of the dams in the region.

The Iraqis have been preparing for "General Winter" since the beginning of December after it became evident that their plans to "finish" quickly with the Iranians were not meeting the test of the reality. At that time, Saddam Husayn announced that his army was taking a defensive posture and that it was organizing for an extended stay on the front. "We will sit," he said, "until the Iranians come, and if they try to attack us, they will break their heads."

The main problem for the winter was the lack of preparation in the area, the scene of the major fighting. The Iraqis began the preparation of roads and the building of earth embankments as protection against major floods. They placed their vehicles in the positions and equipped the troops with winter clothing. It was evident later that the preparations for winter in the area were not particularly effective. The entire system of

roads which the Iraqis prepared but did not protect with embankments was flooded, and it did not withstand the pressure of the tens and hundreds of vehicles which were moved through it. The armor remains stuck in the mud. Since the beginning of the winter, the war has become mainly a static one. The Iraqis are especially using artillery against fixed targets.

Iranian Strategy

The Iraqis, like others throughout the world, underestimated the strength and stamina of the Iranian Army. The general estimate was that the Iranian Army was weak as a result of the purges and executions which have taken place since Khomeyni's rise to power and the neglect of military equipment since the Americans were compelled to leave Iran. The Iranian Army was scattered throughout the country, and the Iranians threw 4 to 5 divisions, armor and infantry, into the battle zone against 10 Iraqi divisions which consisted of 4 armored divisions and the rest infantry.

The remainder of the Iranian forces were deployed along Iran's other borders. However, despite this numerical inferiority, the Iranians have proven to be much better militarily than the Iraqis. Their strength has been reflected in several areas: in the high motivation of the Iranian armed forces, especially among the Revolutionary Guards which were formed in the wake of the Khomeyni revolution. Two factors have come together here--the religious zeal and the fact that the war has been fought on the territory of the Iranians themselves.

The combat capability of the Iranian soldier has also proven to be better than that of the Iraqi soldier. The Iranian has fought with courage and has succeeded in preventing the Iraqi Army from achieving its main objectives on the battlefield, and in many places, a small number of Iranians have fought a large number of Iraqis. It is a fact that the Iraqis made a very serious effort to capture Khorramshahr where there was only a small Iranian force. The capture of the town cost the Iraqis heavy losses. Larger than division-size forces were employed to no avail to carry out this mission. Only after a month, after a commando force was committed to the battle, did the town fall to the Iraqis.

On the strategic planning level, the Iranians chose to adopt a combat strategy which after the fact proved to be appropriate for the conditions in which they were involved. This strategy, which was based on the fundamental assumption that under the current conditions the Iranians were incapable of repelling the Iraqis, consists of three main phases: a blocking effort and preventing the Iraqis from achieving their main objectives on the battlefield; harassment and attrition while organizing; pushing the occupying forces back beyond the border.

Now to the casualties and damages. According to official Iraqi reports, 1,800 Iraqi soldiers have been killed to date in the Gulf War. The British press has reported about 6,000 killed. It appears that the estimate closest to reality is between 5,000 and 8,000. The number of wounded is estimated at more than twice the number of killed. Hundreds of Iraqi soldiers and officers, including pilots, have been captured by the Iranians. Many are missing. "Every family in Iraq," an Iraqi diplomat recently stated, "knows someone who has been killed or wounded."

In regard to damages to military equipment, it is estimated that about 500 Iraqi tanks and armored personnel carriers have been damaged or destroyed. More than 100 Iraqi aircraft, including two or more new Tupolev bombers and helicopters, have been destroyed. The Iraqi military infrastructure, including naval bases, airfields, and army camps, has been hurt badly.

Severe Damage to the Economy

The civilian infrastructure systems, including oil installations, electricity, and air and sea traffic, have also been adversely affected. Iraq is no longer exporting oil in the amounts it did in the past, and it must be remembered that oil is the main export item of this country. In order to conserve oil, restrictions have been imposed on the use of private vehicles. They are now permitted to be used only once a week. According to the estimate of economic experts, Iraq has lost about one-half of its oil refining capacity. Because of the damage to the electrical system, many enterprises have been shut down, and production has declined in others. Experts estimate that Iraq has lost about one-half of its sources of electricity. The Iraqi ports have been paralyzed, and ships are not arriving. Because of the threats of war, foreign economic experts have left Iran, and this, of course, has also had implications for the Iraqi economy. In order to rebuild their damaged economic infrastructure, the Iraqis will need considerable financial assistance, primarily from the West, and it will take a long time.

Continuation of the war beyond expectations, difficult environmental living conditions, heavy losses, and the fact that the initiative on the battlefield is always with the Iranians--all of these are affecting the morale of the Iraqi troops in the battle zone. There is considerable doubt if the Iraqi soldier is still "swallowing" all the stories of successes and victories which his leaders have been and are feeding him. It is almost certain that he is aware of the situation in which his army has become embroiled. The Iraqi soldiers who have been stunned by the shock of the war are no longer the same soldiers who entered it with enthusiasm and a will to achieve objectives. It now appears that they are not fired up and are not prepared to move forward when they encounter resistance.

One of the graphic indications of the low morale among the Iraqi forces is the increase in the number of desertions. Already at the beginning of the war there were desertions both because of the breaking of the soldiers and the refusal of the Iraqi Shi'ites to fight against Iranian Shi'ites. Some of the deserters went "home" while others chose Kuwait or Iran. With the continuation and intensification of the war, the wave of desertions increased.

The war which began on the border with Iran has also reached the rear and is affecting the way of life and mood of the public. After the dissipation of the first enthusiasm, the Iraqi citizens began to understand that their government had entered into a superfluous adventure. This feeling became particularly strengthened with the first news of the losses and with the increase of power failures, gasoline and rationing, and the shortage of various commodities. Against this background there have been grumbling and complaining among many sections of the civilian population.

What lessons will the Iraqi military headquarters be likely to draw from the war with Iran? It is, of course, difficult to deal at this stage with summaries and conclusions, however it is apparent that the key problem which will face the commanders of the Iraqi Army is how to improve the operational capability of this army in light of the low effectiveness which it has displayed during the course of the war. It appears that although the Iraqi soldier was prepared for war, he was not sufficiently prepared.

It is apparent that Iraq took upon itself a mission beyond its capability. The Iraqis failed to make a realistic situation estimate of the personnel and ground factors. The enormous military power concentrated in their hands apparently caused them to

lose their sense of perspective. They considered themselves very strong and showed themselves to be less so whereas the Iranians, whom they considered to be very weak, showed themselves to be less so. So when the two sides met on the battlefield at the time of the test and under the influence of the territorial factors, a situation of balance and no-decision was created.

Will Saddam Husayn's regime succeed in pulling its country out of the adventure into which it has entered? Will it succeed in swallowing the Iranian bone which has stuck in its throat or will it perhaps be choked? The estimate is that a military turning point in favor of one of the sides should not be expected in the coming months. Because of their inability to achieve a decision, the Iraqis at this stage have chosen entrenchment, both military and political. When Saddam Husayn was recently asked to respond to the suggestion that he pull his forces out of Iranian territory in order to give the Iranians an honorable exit in the negotiations, he said: "It would be a mistake to withdraw. Who would guarantee us that the Iranians would honor our demands and that the same Iranian forces which are fighting us now would not continue to fight us on our territory? It is therefore preferable that Abadan, Ahvaz, and Dezful, rather than our towns, be shelled."

On the other hand, although the Iranians are taking initiatives in the battle zone, it is difficult at this stage to estimate if they have the capability to take significant action.

According to western diplomats, the war between Iran and Iraq has become a survivability contest between the two regimes, between which acute ideological, historical, and personality differences prevail. In their opinion, the war is likely to continue for many months and even years with each side expecting the other to become exhausted and collapse first. Nevertheless, a dramatic development on one side or the other cannot be ruled out. On the Iraqi side, for example, the army is liable to rise up against its masters in the event that it concludes that it is no longer able to defeat the Iranians. In this eventuality, a political upheaval in Iraq can be expected. In Iran also, one cannot eliminate the possibility of a turning point which will compel its leaders to give in to the demands of the Iraqis, although this possibility seems less likely. It is more reasonable to assume that eventually the Iranians will perhaps be able to push the Iraqis back across the border.

However, whatever the development, one thing is clear: if the Iraqis once dreamed of converting the land of the Euphrates and the Tigris into a regional power, this war has set them back a number of years and has stalled the development of their country for a long time.

In summary, the Iraqi Army is indeed now engaged in a war against a foreign enemy (and its actions generally indicate a lack of success), and it is not known when and in what form it is likely to appear again in our area as a fighting force. Nevertheless, one cannot ignore the fact that this war is serving as an important testing ground for the Iraqi Army, and this will have serious implications on the shaping of its image and capability in the future.

5830

CSO: 4805/125

GULF COOPERATIVE COUNCIL PART OF LONG PROCESS TOWARDS UNITY

Kuwait AL-QABAS in Arabic 7 Feb 81 p 1

[Editorial by Jasim Ahmad al-Nisf: "The Road to the Gulf Council Was Begun in the Mid-Seventies"]

[Text] Those who imagine that the establishment of the Gulf Cooperative Council is merely an emergency measure at the present time to counteract the trend of current events in the area are grossly mistaken. They strip this vital step from its historical context and ignore all the gradual preparatory steps that preceded it, especially those taken during the second half of the 1970's. In addition, the Gulf states do not formulate their policies based on impulsive reactions and emotionalism but instead depend on a long range strategic view that incorporates extensive studies and a series of gradual, rational steps.

Therefore, confusing this coordinative Gulf step with the several Arab attempts at unity is inappropriate since some of the Arab attempts were stillborn and doomed from the moment of conception. Furthermore, others were merely spontaneous measures resembling a temporary political alliance within the framework of political axioms, with no hint of historical and permanent unifying characteristics. Those attempts did not depend on a well-studied program for joint coordination and cooperation ending in unity but rather their instigators plunged ahead with no basis for jumping to support the ventures.

The joint Gulf coordination has taken great strides in various fields through the specialized ministerial councils, the joint economic organizations and political contacts between the leaders of the states in the area amounting to daily reckoners.

If we review the events of May 1975, when Shaykh Jabir al-Ahmad al-Sabah undertook his Gulf tour, we find that this trip was the beginning of a practical movement toward the formation of the Gulf Cooperative Council, the establishment of which was announced last Wednesday. We also find that the 6 years that have elapsed since the tour did not pass unheeded but were spent developing a series of positive escalating steps translating the idea of a Gulf cooperative into a concrete reality.

The Kuwaiti vision of the events taking place in the mid-seventies was a far-sighted one and accurately predicted the events that have occurred during the past 6 months. That Kuwaiti vision realized that the time was right to take the initial steps toward unifying the Persian Gulf area. The process of unification is comprised of consecutive phases. The establishment of the Gulf Cooperative Council is considered an outstanding historical step and an advanced stage in the process of unification.

9607

CSO: 4802/501

ASSEMBLY DEBATES SECURITY, CRIME SITUATION

Kuwait KUWAIT TIMES in English 1 Apr 81 pp 1, 16

[Article by Zakaria Al-Qaq]

[Text]

A NUMBER of Deputies raised alarm over the growing crime rate in Kuwait and demanded immediate steps to check the trend during the National Assembly session yesterday.

The Assembly meeting, which could rightly be termed a "security session", was marked by fiery speeches expressing grave anxiety over the security conditions in the country.

The security forces, courts, media and expatriates came under fire.

One of the Deputies, Khalaf Al Anzi suggested a moratorium on visit and work visas for at least two years to take necessary steps to restore proper security conditions.

Stating that there were 70,000 people living in Kuwait illegally, he wondered how they could get into the country without proper documents. He noted that once Kuwaitis used to live in open-door houses without any fear.

VIGILANT

Crown Prince and Prime Minister Sheikh Saad Al Abdulla described the session as fruitful and promised to speak for the government about the security issue in greater details in the following session scheduled to be held next Tuesday.

The heated debate was sparked by the gruesome kidnap-murder of two little girls by three sex maniacs, bizarre cases of burglary involving the use of anaesthetics and an explosion in a building in the Fahd Al Salem Street in which a guard-man was killed.

The three incidents created

a state of anxiety in the country, Interior Minister Sheikh Nawaf Al Ahmed told the Assembly.

The Minister said that the vigilant security forces had managed to apprehend the culprits in a relatively short time.

Concerning the two kidnap cases, he said, the first incident occurred on Jan. 21 and the second on Feb. 9. Police arrested two of the three suspects on March 13 and a massive manhunt was underway to trace third one.

The two burglary incidents of Rawdha and Qadeisyah, in which a man broke into houses and knocked his victims unconscious by using an anaesthetic material, took place on Feb. 18 and 26, he said. Just two days later police nabbed the suspect as he was planning to commit another crime in the same fashion.

Referring to the building blast and subsequent blaze at the Fahd Al Salem Street, Sheikh Nawaf said investigations were still going on to unravel the mystery and disclosed that police could actually hit upon an important lead that would hopefully

facilitate the arrest of those behind the incident.

Sheikh Nawaf asserted that his ministry had always been seen on getting all the facts in the open. He pointed out that in certain cases it was deemed necessary to ban any publication of news about crimes in order to give security authorities an opportunity to carry out their investigations unhampered.

NEW

A number of deputies then took the floor and put forward a lot of suggestions about the security problem in the country.

According to Khalaf Al Anzi the ideal solution is to suspend the issue of work and visit permits. "Such crimes are new to us," he said.

The Deputy said that drugs of all kinds were widely used

by school and university students and said that something had got to be done about it.

Falah Al Hajraf called for applying the penalties stipulated by the Holy Quran and expressed his firm belief that all crimes in Kuwait were committed only by expatriates who, he said, came to the country with diabolical schemes.

He wondered why any criminal should be referred to the general prosecution. "They should be punished on the spot," the Deputy said.

Referring to the case of the four Thais charged with

the murder of a currency exchange dealer here, he demanded that they be executed immediately. The Deputy denounced the court decision to summon a Thai attorney to defend them.

Abdul Kareem Al Jeheidli deplored the fact that Kuwait had become the "scene of political eliminations." He was also highly critical of the judiciary in Kuwait. "The verdicts in our courts are far from deterring," he said. This, in his view, enhanced crime rather than curbed it. "The country is rife with all sorts of crimes including bribery."

He claimed to be in possession of a list of the names of those who were bailed out of jail after paying bribes amounting to tens of thousands of dinars.

"There are funny things going on in our courts I assure you," he said.

"Kuwait is facing a real danger, my countrymen," Jeheidli said adding: "Unless we decide to take a firm stand things are bound to deteriorate". He suggested that a committee be set up to meet the leaders of the country and discuss the matter fully with them.

Commenting on what Jeheidli said, the Minister of Justice Sheikh Salman Al Diej, reassured the deputies that the judiciary was beyond reproach. "According to the Constitution of this country no person shall be prosecuted or punished unless found guilty through legal procedures," he said.

The Minister criticised the way the media had been handling security issues. Noting that the ultimate objective of the government is to safeguard the security as well as the dignity of every citizen. He called upon the Deputy to reveal the list of names in his possession so that justice could be administered as soon as possible. "The basic rule is that a person is innocent until proven to be otherwise."

He, however, reminded the Assembly that the issue of laws is the full jurisdiction

of the Assembly which might also amend whatever laws it did not deem adequately serving public interests. He welcomed any proposals to amend the country's constitution.

Deputy Jassim Al Sagr, sounded a bit moderate while debating the security problem. He said that the conflict between criminals and the guardians of the law was an everlasting human phenomenon. "All we want to see is for the security apparatus in the country to always be able to cope with the ever developing methods used by criminals," he said.

He remarked that there was a trend among world criminals to move their scene of operations to the rich countries. "We cannot hang them all, though," he said.

"There are rigorous restrictions that regulate the penal code in any country as the dignity of the citizen might be jeopardised if penalties were unleashed unwisely," he added. Al Sagr said, however, that the investigation staff at the Ministry of the Interior was far below the required standard of efficiency.

ARMS

Deputy Mutlaq Al Shleimi called for permitting every Kuwaiti citizen to keep a fire-arm at home. He also demanded that a large number of top ranking police officers and officials at the Ministry of the Interior be made to retire to be replaced by a younger generation.

Deputy Abdul Mohsen Jamal said that law and order should be applied to all citizens on equal footing regardless of wealth, status or position. He called for serious efforts to amend a large number of the criminal laws in the country as they are inadequate.

Commenting on this part of the Deputy's statements the Interior Minister said that within efforts currently made to develop the law enforcement body in the ministry many missions had been sent abroad in addition to several in-service training courses.

Deputy Khalid Sultan attributed the current wave of crimes to films of violence and sex screened on television and called for setting up a committee of some deputies and university professors to supervise TV programmes.

He also attacked the Ministry of Education for allowing school girls to feature in dancing musical shows which are usually telecast by the Kuwait TV.

GULF BANK DECLARES HUGE PROFIT

Kuwait ARAB TIMES in English 28 Mar 81 p 14

[Text]

KUWAIT, March 27: The Gulf Bank has declared a profit of over KD 5.8 million for the year 1980, compared to KD 4.3 million the year before.

The annual report of the bank states that the total assets at the year end stood at 1,168.3 million, showing an increase of KD 256.8 million over 1979.

To mark the 20th anniversary, the Board of Directors recommended the increase of the bank's capital from KD 15 million to KD 17.5 million. It was proposed that such an increase be accomplished by authorisation of a bonus issue of new shares totalling 2,500,000, each of KD one.

A cash dividend of 12.5 per cent was declared for the shareholders. The bank's financial position was strengthened and results improved during last year. These results were achieved against a background of rapidly changing operating conditions.

Efficiency

The Central Bank tightened rules on credit with certain repercussions on deposits. Banks have been competing for declining deposits. However, the maintenance of the bank's policy to improve service for all its customers has been coupled with a primary objective to increase cost effectiveness and efficiency in the bank's service delivery capability.

During 1980, the Gulf Bank had the distinction of issuing its own Visa Travellers' Cheques. This was for the first time by any bank in the Arab World. The response to this new product in the bank's range of personal banking services has been most enthusiastic and sales have exceeded expectations.

After more than 17 years of helping the bank, Khaled Yousuf Al-Mutawa, Ab Abdulrahman Al Bahar and Nasser Abdul Wahab Al Qatami, retired from their respective positions of chairman, deputy chairman and director of the bank. New appointees were Mustafa Sultan, Khalid Al Folan and Daoud Mussad Al Saleh.

CSO: 4820/301

AMAL REPRESENTATIVE COMMENTS ON SOUTH LEBANON

Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL in English 12 Apr 81 p 3

[Text] The Lebanese "Amal" Movement of the downtrodden, i. one of the movements that have, with full force, shouldered the mission of carrying the Islamic Revolution to Lebanon and which guard its achievements. Due recognition has not been accorded, and enough attention has not been paid, to the "Amal" Movement of the downtrodden, which is bearing the heavy burden of defense of Shi'a ideals in Arab countries and reactionary regimes in the region, and which offers tens of martyrs and wounded in defense of the Islamic Revolution of Iran.

It can be decisively stated that this movement is resisting and fighting against the Iraqi Ba'athists in Lebanon, that it has declared its full support of the Islamic Revolution of Iran, and that, by means of its own armed militia, it guards and protects the Embassy of the Islamic Republic of Iran in Beirut. Therefore, it should receive appreciation and commendation of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

A delegation representing the Amal Movement made a trip to Iran and visited the war-fronts. After its return to Tehran, "KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL" held an interview with the Amal representatives the text of which is as follows:

Q. Please give an account of the emergence of the Amal Movements, its leadership and activities. Is there any difference between Amal and Harkat-ol-Mahroomin (The Movement of the Downtrodden)?

A. Before making any remark, I must explain that there is no difference between Amal and Harkat-ol-Mahroomin. They are two names for one and the same movement. It has originated in the midst of the political crisis and turmoil in Lebanon. This country is composed of an unbalanced social texture, so that the governing powers are not at all equitably distributed.

This objective has been pursued and achieved by colonialists. Furthermore, two religious groups have assumed power here, i. e. "Maroni Sect" and "Darruzi Sect", whereas Shi'a Muslims have no role at all in the social life of Lebanon. The first two groups have always been supported by foreign powers.

Indifference to, and overlooking of, the Shi'a Muslims in Lebanon have been a result of the colonial designs, to which much attention was paid. Lebanese Shi'ites continued to suffer deprivation and vagrancy until Imam Moussa Sadr came to Lebanon and declared in public places that the Shi'as should not be treated with

indifference and extortion. He asked for improvement in the situation of Shi'as, restoration of their due rights, and immediate investigation regarding the conditions of the Lebanese downtrodden, the majority of which were Shi'as.

Thus, Imam Moussa Sadr emerged as the leader of the deprived class of Lebanon, and as the unrivalled leader of Shi'as particularly. His incessant activities were devoted to claiming the due rights of the oppressed and the restoration of the real identity of Shi'as of Lebanon.

Meanwhile, the savage aggression which was being perpetrated by the Israeli Zionist system, producing the worst and the most painful kind of life for the deprived people in the region, lay a heavy responsibility on the shoulders of the Shi'ite leader of Lebanon.

Imam Moussa Sadr took the first step of its activities with the purpose of saving the downtrodden. During this stage, known as the popular movement, he asked all the downtrodden to take part in marches and demonstrations, where he reminded them of their problems and difficulties.

In this stage that lasted until 1975, the Imam felt that a calculated global plot was being hatched to exterminate the Muslims of Lebanon, particularly those in the south, and regarding the Palestinian problem. In order to neutralize this world plot, Imam Moussa reiterated and pursued three problems with full force: Defense of South Lebanon, defense of Palestine and defense of Lebanese unity.

As regards the date of the emergence of Amal, nothing definite can be said. Nor can it be said that the Amal Movement was formed at the time of the Imam's arrival in South Lebanon, because the idea had been conceived in the Imam's mind and was materialized when he entered South Lebanon.

Q. What is the reaction to Imam Sadr's absence in Lebanon, particularly the South?

A. It is natural that Imam Sadr's absence has had a deep impression on the activities of Amal Movement that was under his leadership. Generally, his loss has been distinct and pronounced in all activities of Lebanese Shi'ites, because he withstood adamantly against imperialistic plots and played an important role in the defense of the Palestinian problems. Now, we fully realize his success and great role in the political and military field of Lebanon and have not been able to fill the gap.

Q. Now that reference has been made to his extensive activities and programs, we would like to know the latest news about him. Has there been fresh reports in this connection?

A. We have received contradictory reports, some of which testify to his martyrdom, others to the fact that he is still alive. According to our latest enquiries, he is still alive, and that he is staying in a country which need not be mentioned here. We hope that the efforts of all Muslims, particularly Iranians, as well as other sincere people bear fruit, and Imam Moussa Sadr will return to South Lebanon so that life can flourish again here.

Q. What are your views about the situation in Lebanon, particularly the South, and what solutions do you have to end the difficulties in the South?

A. In fact, Lebanon is now turned into an arena to settle the accounts of the Middle Eastern countries. People are highly troubled about this confused situation. International power politics desire the continuation of the existing situation. That is because they wish the settlement of accounts to take place far from their countries; thus different organizations in Lebanon act as mercenaries for those countries and regimes. Thus, we see that Lebanon and its people are at feuds and war with one another, so that those mercenaries can feel satisfied. Therefore, Amal Movement and its leader, Imam Moussa Sadr ask for protection of Lebanon and maintenance of its southern region.

Q. What is your view about the National Movement of Lebanon?

A. The National Movement follows an independent line, far removed from any attachments. Our viewpoints take root from historical facts and our religion and beliefs.

Our views are quite clear: all of us love our nation and people. If National Movement follows a correct and clear line we shall support it, otherwise we shall not do so, and we may even oppose it.

Q. We all know that the Iraqi mercenary regime resorts to acts of sabotage in Lebanon, including extermination of independent and candid movements. Can you elaborate on this matter?

A. The Iraqi regime is resorting to acts of sabotage, perpetrated by its agents under diplomatic disguise. They have a devilish manner. They are assigned with the task of terrorizing anyone who opposes Iraqi regime.

There are certain Lebanese and non-Lebanese groups that cooperate with the Iraqi regime and implement its evil designs. For instance, in the armed clashes between Amal, which is opposed to the Iraqi lackey regime, and the groups attached to Iraq, the latter were disgraced. In the glorious demonstration organized to show our deep contempt of the martyrdom of Ayatollah Seyyed Mohammad Bagher Sadr, the great Islamic scholar, the groups affiliated to the Iraqi regime machine-gunned many of the Muslims, killing and wounding many people.

Q. What is your view about the war imposed on Iran by Iraq, and your assessment of the future conduct of the war?

A. We set out for war fronts, familiarized ourselves with the situation from close quarters and observed the crimes of Iraqi lackey regime. Saddam boasts that he has been able to serve his masters in order to keep them satisfied. But the fact is that these methods will not continue and Saddam will be defeated. It can be appraised that the war will end in favor of Iran and Islam and that Imam Khomeini's view will materialize--that Iranian Muslims will achieve victory because they defend their own religion and ideology, whereas the other side is an infidel, traitor and mercenary.

CSO: 4820/302

SOVIETS, INDIANS PLAN LARGER PHOSPHATE PURCHASES

Casablanca LA VIE ECONOMIQUE in French 10 Apr 81 pp 1, 6

[Text] At the headquarters building of the OCP (Moroccan Phosphates Office) in Casablanca on 30 March, Mr Mohamed Karim Lamrani, general director of the OCP, and his ranking officers met with Mr Boris Kossolapov, chairman of the Soviet state enterprise SOYUZPRONEXPORT.

The talks focused on broadened cooperation between both countries in the area of the commodity exchanges provided for in the draft agreement of 10 March 1978 on phosphates between the USSR and Morocco.

The Soviet delegation expressed a desire to import from Morocco, starting in 1982, up to 500,000 tons of phosphoric acid or superphosphoric acid over and above the tonnages of phosphoric acid and fertilizers already earmarked for the period from 1981-1985.

An atmosphere of warmth and candor surrounded the meeting, confirming both parties' desire to work for improved economic relations between both countries.

It also provided Karim Lamrani an opportunity to assert the OCP group's desire actively to follow up on implementation of its program for increased production of phosphoric acid and fertilizers in Morocco.

It may be recalled that the programs involve the construction of two plants, Maroc Phosphore III and IV at Jorf Lasfar. Altogether they will consist of eight production lines of 500 tons per day of anhydride acid. The first of the are supposed to come on line by the end of 1983. Four similar lines will materialize with Maroc Phosphore V at Nador. Its start-up is scheduled for 1985.

There will soon be another meeting in Moscow to give substance to the talks by expanding the agreements already concluded.

The Soviet purchase plan covers the output of Maroc Phosphore II that was started up in 1980.

It is worth mentioning that India also plans to buy from Morocco additional tonnages of phosphoric acid: as much as 450,000 tons annually.

Present output capacity of the two Maroc Phosphore plants at Safi amounts to 1,160,000 tons per annum, with the start-up of the fourth production line of Maroc Phosphore I that brought that capacity up from 495,000 to 600,000 tons of phosphorous pentoxide, and of Maroc Phosphore II whose output capacity is 500,000 tons yearly.

CSO: 4400/1113

LATEST PLANS FOR GULF UNIVERSITY DISCUSSED

Kuwait KUWAIT TIMES in English 4 Apr 81 p 3

[Text] **THE FIRST** phase of Arab Gulf University will be completed within three years, a spokesman for the Gulf Education Office said yesterday.

The giant educational project in which seven Gulf states are taking part is an unprecedented initiative, Dr. Mohammed Ahmed Al-Rasheed added.

Bahrain had donated four million square metres for the project and Saudi Arabia is making an annual appropriation of 300 million riyals for the two coming years.

FACULTIES

The university's first intake will be in 1982 and students shall temporarily be accommodated in other colleges of the region, Al-Rasheed added.

Located in the island of Manama the university project will be financed jointly by the seven states of the Gulf.

The university will be open to students from all parts of the Gulf and will care to establish faculties which are not open in other universities of the region, Al-Rasheed added.

The Gulf Educational Office is a joint governments organisation assigned to supervise, coordination and co-

operation in Gulf's cultural and educational fields.

Al-Rasheed said the Gulf states are heading towards more cooperation in educational and other fields.

PROGRESS

The educational office is a semi regional organisation closely related to other Arab cultural institutions, Dr. Al-Rasheed added.

Meanwhile, in Manama, the Amir of Bahrain Sheikh Issa Ben Salman Al-Khalifa received the education ministers of Kuwait and the United Arab Emirates who arrived to attend the meeting

of the tripartite ministerial committee for the establishment of the proposed Gulf university.

Sheikh Issa discussed with the Kuwaiti Minister Dr. Yacoub Al-Ghunaim and the UAE Minister Saeed Salmen progress achieved by the committee preparing the project of the proposed university, the Gulf News Agency said.

The Agency quoted Sheikh Issa saying that the proposed university will be a landmark in cooperation and coordination among the Gulf states in the field of education.

Bahrain supports any Gulf project aiming at serving its citizens Sheikh Issa is reported to have assured the two ministers.

OIL OFFICIAL DISCUSSES EFFECTS OF IRAQ-IRAN WAR ON OIL SUPPLY

Kuwait AL-QABAS in Arabic 7 Feb 81 p 15

[Interview conducted by Muhammad al-Shiti: "Saudi Intervention Prevents a 'Revolution' in Prices of Persian Oil"]

[Text] An official has expressed his fears to AL-QABAS regarding a return to the discount system of oil sales rather than maintenance of the present incentive system when the war ends.

He said, "It is feared that the balance of oil sales will change in favor of the buyers for the first time since 1976 when the war ends, since both Iraq and Iran will return to maximum production of oil in order to compensate for the loss of export revenue incurred in the last 5 months due to the war between the two countries."

The official added, "What aids the buyers, aside from the return of both Iraq and Iran to maximum production, is the partial success of the West in conserving energy consumption and restricting imports; this includes the United States and especially Japan. In addition, the winter season is almost over and summer is about to begin, thus reducing world consumption since there is little need for energy for heating purposes."

The official stated, "The success of both the Iranians and the Iraqis in repairing shipping and pumping machinery will enable them to resume sales. The two countries will spare no effort to grant discounts in order to encourage exports from areas where danger will not be eliminated completely with the cessation of the war. Discounts will also be granted in return for the purchase of oil from these two countries and in light of the exorbitant insurance costs imposed on oil tankers by Lloyds at the beginning of the Persian Gulf war."

"These trends and expectations gain further weight because of the pressing need for money by both countries to defray the costs of the war and make up for the temporary cessation of exportation. This situation has prepared the two countries to ask their customers for advance payment for oil when pumping is resumed."

The official stated, "The collection of oil payments in advance by Iranians and Iraqis will force them to grant additional discounts beyond those related to the principle of sales and may incur a certain degree of financial risk."

"The two countries are militarily, economically and financially exhausted by war and will consider the advance-payment discount as a substitute for interest they would pay if they were to borrow money from world money markets, large banks, or any other source."

The official added, "These developments are now fact and Iran follows these practices by discounting \$7 per barrel for oil tankers entering the shipping port at Kharg Island. This policy is unstable and relies on the \$7 discount granted to attract buyers, mostly the Japanese and Asians."

'Ali al-Khalifa al-Sabah, the oil minister, mentioned earlier that such developments will result in precluding any new oil price increase during 1981. The minister has stated this on several occasions.

In Bali, he told his OPEC colleagues, "You may not have an opportunity to increase the crude oil prices again this year." It was clear to them what Shaykh al-Khalifa meant. The official added, "The partial release of Iranian assets will not alter the tendency to grant discounts supported by abundant production in both countries which in turn will eventually create a surplus on the market."

The official concluded, "The Saudis, and only the Saudis, will be able to stop that growing trend and reverse this future equation if they reduce their high rate of production, which exceeds their actual developmental needs."

The oil officials in the Gulf area base their hopes on the intervention of Saudi Arabia at the right time to reduce production and insure that the supply and demand equation will not be reversed. The possibility has not been ruled out that consultations between Gulf officials and the Saudis have already taken place to avoid reaching that fearful stage.

There are signs that Saudi Arabia will respond and intervene at the proper time, but until the war ends, that remains only an expectation.

9607

CSO: 4802/501

ABU DHABI BUDGET APPROVED, DEVELOPMENT STRESSED

Abu Dhabi EMIRATES NEWS in English 14 Apr 81 p 1

[Text]

Abu Dhabi, April 13 (WAM): The Abu Dhabi National Consultative Council today approved the general budget of the Abu Dhabi Emirate for the fiscal year 1981, with a provision of Dh. 7.3 billion (almost two billion dollars) to be spent on the emirate's development.

Total revenues of Abu Dhabi for this year were estimated at Dh. 41.9 billion (dollars 11.4 billion) and expenditure at Dh. 36.3 billion (just under 10 billion dollars).

Budget provisions includes a contribution of Dh. 20.45 billion to the Federal budget or 50 per cent of the Abu Dhabi emirate's oil revenues, and an allocation of Dh. 6.2 billion for the ordinary budget of the Emirate's local department.

At least Dh. 1,298 million are to be spent by the Abu Dhabi Emirate as aid to foreign countries and Dh. one billion on the capital expenditure.

The Council at a meeting held here today presided over by its Chairman, Sheikh Sultan bin Suroor Al Dhahiri, also discussed a report by the Financial and Economic Affairs Committee, an affiliate of the Council, on the budget. The report estimated that revenues for the current year would increase by Dh. three billion over last year because of oil price increases.

Petroleum revenues constitute 97.6 per cent of the emirate's total estimated revenues of 1981.

Abu Dhabi National Oil Company (ADNOC) topped the list of contributors and brought in Dh. 22 billion in

oil revenues followed by the Abu Dhabi Oil Company (Dh. 9.5 billion) and the Abu Dhabi Marine Operation Company (ADMA-OPCO) with Dh. seven billion, followed by the rest of the operating companies in the country.

The budget also included a provision of Dh. 2.5 billion to compensate citizens in the city of Abu Dhabi and the introduction of a clause in the budget law to grant furnishing allowance to national citizens to improve their living conditions.

UNITED ARAB EMIRATES

BRIEFS

TEACHERS SEEK TRANSFER--Sixty per cent of the teaching staff in Abu Dhabi has applied for transfer to the other areas due to soaring house rents and cost of living. Director of Education Youssef Al-Houssani said that his department was trying its best to provide stability and comfortable working conditions to the area teaching staff. I was currently studying the possibility of changing the local contracts into foreign ones. It has also proposed a special pay-scale for teachers within the proposed new general pay-scale. [Text] [Kuwait ARAB TIMES in English 7 Apr 81 p 5]

MANPOWER FIGURES--Abu Dhabi, April 12 (WAM): The growth rate of manpower in U. A. E. had increased steadily at around 13.6 per cent during the past five years, according to figures released today by the Federal Planning Ministry. It said the increasing economic and industrial activities in the country have driven the number of foreign manpower up to a record of 422,548 labourers and employees by the end of 1980. According to the figures, they have received about 15 billion dirhams (4.13 billion dollars) in salaries out of the 18.5 billion dollars of the country's total revenues in 1980. Labourers working in the construction sector which saw a boom in the past two or three years, represented the largest percentage--34 per cent or 145,000 persons--by the end of last year. They received salaries worth four billion dirhams (1.08 billion dollars). The U. A. E. is considered to be the third richest country in the world in terms of per capita Gross National Product (GNP). The UAE depends largely on oil for its revenues which increased by almost 50 per cent last year compared with the revenues of 1979 due mainly to the huge increases of oil prices during the same period. It produces an average of 1.71 million barrels per day and sells it at around 36.5 dollars per barrel. There are 6,548 labourers in the oil industry who receive salaries worth 608 million dirhams (165 million dollars). Government employees in the public services sector totalled about 25,000 and they receive about five billion dirhams (1.3 billion dollars), according to the Planning Ministry. [Text] [Abu Dhabi EMIRATES NEWS in English 13 Apr 81 p 1]

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